THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 164 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • JUNE 28, 1947 NUMBER 26

# The Shape of Things

THE PRESIDENT'S VETO OF THE LABOR BILL has drawn a sharp issue at a point where it should be drawn. Had political considerations and the knowledge that he would almost certainly be overridden induced him to let the bill pass into law unchallenged, then the direst prophesies of an inevitable reactionary trend would have been fulfilled. He has given American liberalism the fighting chance that it seemed to have lost with the death of Roosevelt. Not only did his action unite all branches of the labor movement as a potentially powerful political force, but his clear-headed analysis of a bad bill was a hopeful sign that the Administration was getting back on the Roosevelt trail. Until now, President Truman, in the interests of a phony conception of national unity, has attempted a working compromise with the reactionary forces of both parties which are in effective control of Congress. The Republicans and Southern Democrats should perhaps be thanked for putting their position so baldly that, this time, compromise was impossible. Now the fight begins, and it will carry on until the votes are counted in '48. What must be remembered is that the battle cannot be won by vetoes. A bad bill has become bad law, and we may expect the consequences the President predicted. But the resultant industrial strife must not distract the labor and liberal movement from the main task before it—the task of sending to Congress in 1948 men who would be incapable of repeating what the nation has witnessed in Washington this last week.

*

TO THE REPUBLICANS, TAX REDUCTION IS the supreme political issue, and it is not surprising that they are both angered and dismayed by the President's veto of H. R. 1. However, their wrath must have destroyed their sense of logic or they would not, in one breath, denounce Mr. Truman's action as "sheer politics" and claim it will insure their own triumph in 1948. Actually, politics can hardly have been a motive for the veto, since tax cuts are always popular, and in this case, while they would have applied on an inequitable basis, they would also have been widely spread. We believe, therefore, that Mr. Truman deserves credit for both courage and sincerity in challenging Congress on this issue, although we are not prepared wholly to indorse his reasoning. The message accompanying the veto declared that the bill represented "the wrong kind of tax reduction at the wrong time." We agree with the first part of the sentence but are not convinced that this is the wrong time for some reduction in the government's "take" from the national income. Mr. Truman cited figures showing that we are still on the crest of the boom, with the economy still subject to inflationary pressures. But signs indicate that by fall, when tax reduction would begin to have an effect, deflationary forces may be gaining the upper hand. In this event, additional effective purchasing power in the pockets of consumers might prove a useful stabilizing factor. That would require, however, a bill very different from the one just vetoed.

*

HARD UPON THE GREEK GOVERNMENT'S note to the United States promising the fullest cooperation in carrying out the American-financed $300,000,000 rehabilitation plan came the word that seventeen former E. L. A. S. soldiers had been executed in the Aegina Island fortress. This news should be read as a footnote to the article by Constantine Poulos on another page of this issue. It is significant that these men had been under sentence for two years and that their execution had been stayed by protests from the British Labor Party and fifty members of the British Parliament. But America is far away, its Congress not so sensitive to acts of tyranny this side of the iron curtain. And anyway, is not the Greek government the sagging bulwark of democracy that we are determined to shore up? The Greek government, in its note to us expressing its willingness to have us virtually take over the running of its economy, stressed its determination to compose internal differences. But how this was to be done was clarified in another section of the note: "Aid given for military purposes will be used for the restoration and maintenance of internal order." Nothing could be clearer. Full partnership in the economic reconstruction of Greece involves also full partnership in the policy of a regime which, since "liberation," directed a campaign of terror against all who oppose it. Is this acceptable to the American people? Can we with a straight face and a clear conscience urge an international bill of rights at Lake Success and actively support the violation of the elementary rights of human beings in Athens?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

## • IN THIS ISSUE •

COVER
Cartoon *by Oscar Berger*
EDITORIALS
The Shape of Things 755
Human Rights 757
A Slight Case of Murder 757
Marketing the Plan *by Freda Kirchwey* 758
ARTICLES
Can Our Dollars Save Europe? *by Blair Bolles* 759
Meet Our Greek Allies *by Constantine Poulos* 761
The 250 Industrial Giants *by Fritz Sternberg* 763
Perón's Expanding Empire *by Albert C. Hicks* 765
The Chinese Students *by Jean Lyon* 767
Bigotry in B-Flat: How the Berkshires Face the Music *by Horace Sutton* 768
Socialist Troubles *by Del Vayo* 770
Everybody's Business: Shifting the Tax Burden *by Keith Hutchison* 771
BOOKS AND THE ARTS
American Author's Authority—Round II *by Anthony Bower* 772
Stalag Luft *A Poem by Randall Jarrell* 773
Notes by the Way *by Margaret Marshall* 774
Metaphysical or So *by John Berryman* 775
Understanding Russia *by Keith Hutchison* 776
Memorandum *by W. J. Gold* 777
Film Note *by James Agee* 778
Music *by B. H. Haggin* 779
LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 780
CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 217 *by Jack Barrett* 781

*Editor and Publisher:* Freda Kirchwey

*Managing Editor* J. King Gordon — *Literary Editor* Margaret Marshall

*European Editor:* J. Alvarez del Vayo

*Associate Editor:* Robert Bendiner

*Financial Editor:* Keith Hutchison

*Drama:* Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin

*Staff Contributors*
Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams, Aylmer Vallance
Maxwell S. Stewart, Ralph Bates

*Assistant Managing Editor:* Jerry Tallmer

*Copy Editor:* Gladys Whiteside *Assistant Literary Editor:* Caroline Whiting *Research Editor:* Doris W. Tanz

*Business Manager:* Hugo Van Arx

*Advertising Manager:* William B. Brown

*Director of Nation Associates:* Lillie Shultz

*The Nation*, published weekly and copyrighted, 1947, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.

*Subscription Prices: Domestic*—One year $6; Two years $10; Three years $14. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

*Change of Address:* Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new one.

*Information to Libraries: The Nation* is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

DE GASPERI WON A FORMAL VICTORY BUT AT the price of a moral defeat when, last Saturday, he succeeded in dragging from the Italian Constituent Assembly the dozen votes necessary to continue him in power behind the façade of a representative government. With that vote the "Chancellor," as he is acidly called in *Avanti*, can hardly pretend to govern in the name of a democratic though anti-Socialist majority. His painfully assembled support is the weakest, shakiest, and most heterogeneous on which he has ever stood. It is formed in part of men who had nothing to do with the Liberation, who at heart are against the Republic, and whom a more severe anti-fascist policy would have sent to the tribunals rather than to Parliament. De Gasperi may remain the hero of the Vatican and of Washington, but during this crisis he has forfeited all genuine republican backing. He has thrown himself definitely into the arms of the right, and it is only the right that can continue to carry him. The double role that De Gasperi once seemed eager to play, of a conservative politician leading a progressive coalition, is now finished. He has failed to bring to his side those moderate elements of the left which he hoped to win by playing them off against Togliatti and Nenni. In the Assembly last Saturday he found the entire left impressively united against him. Although a few abstentions from those benches helped him win his vote of confidence, this is not a precedent on which he can rely. At the first showdown on major policy, those few will follow their parties' line and turn against De Gasperi. Perhaps he will be saved by the single vote of Giannini, the semi-fascist leader of l'Uomo Qualunque. But these favors of chance will not help him achieve his main purpose in clinging to power—to delay the general election and prevent the defeat of his party.

×

NO LARGER THAN A LADY'S HAND, BUT clearly visible, is the shadow cast by the coming visit of Eva Duarte Perón to the British Isles. An embarrassed Foreign Office, helpless to prevent the invasion, must also give a convincing demonstration of welcome. For Argentina is not only tied to England by old bonds, economic and diplomatic; it is also today as during the war an indispensable source of food for hungry Britons. To refuse a polite reception to Señora Perón would be unthinkable. At the same time the anti-fascist sentiment of the British people is already expressing itself in hearty press attacks both on the lady and on the government's plans for receiving her. The *Sunday Pictorial* drew an official rebuke when it charged that members of Parliament were concerned because Señora Perón, "the wife of a fascist dictator," would arrive in Britain "fresh from a triumphant reception in Franco's Spain," where she "produced the fascist salute on the slightest pretext." But left-wing rumors indicate that the energetic Eva expects more

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

substantial rewards from Britain than the perfumes, jewels, and honors showered on her in Spain. She intends to make sure that she is cut in, personally, on all the contracts for Argentine products now being made in England. This may be distasteful—as well as expensive—for British business men of old-fashioned habits, but they cannot afford to be squeamish; nor can the government. Eva wants money, and England needs meat; and neither propriety nor democratic sentiment is likely to interfere with the success of her visit.

# Human Rights

TO FORMULATE a declaration of human rights in the year 1947 may appear to be a task fit only for philosophers or fools. The nineteenth century, tracing its springs of action to the American, the French, and the Industrial Revolution, found it easy to describe human liberty in terms of a man's freedom from oppression by state, church, or other men. The individualism that expressed itself economically in the ascendant capitalist system was the counterpart of nineteenth-century political liberalism. But today, the rise of socialism, the emergence of new social concepts in economics and government, the recognition of rights that a man may claim as a member of society make a generally acceptable declaration of rights much more difficult. In fact, it would seem virtually impossible to work out a definition that would satisfy an American, an Englishman, a Frenchman, and a Russian. An American may claim the right to free speech, to free association, to freedom of worship. But can he claim the right to work or the right to health or to the means of health? And can a Russian, whose security is bound up in his relations to the state, claim the right of protest against what he may conceive to be the unjust powers of that state?

Back of the discussions in the drafting committee of the Human Rights Commission which has been in session for two weeks, these conflicting concepts of right and liberty lie waiting to assert themselves. A distinguished group of delegates from the United States, Russia, England, Lebanon, France, Chile, China, and Australia has been attempting to formulate not one but two statements. On the initiative of Britain, the delegates have been seriously debating a draft Convention of Human Rights which, once passed by the General Assembly and ratified by member states, would be enforceable as international law. All have agreed that however worthy this attempt—and it is significant that it is being made—the road ahead is a long and hard one. Would the United States, for example, be prepared to accept an international convention against race discrimination? Would the federal government, which has in the past proved helpless in such instances, be prepared to have a lynching in South Carolina branded as an international crime within the jurisdiction of an international court?

The other statement of human rights, while bound to encounter many difficulties, is more modest in its aims. The statement would be in fact a Declaration of Human Rights which, in the words of one delegate, would constitute a "matrix from which subsequent conventions would naturally grow." The basis for such a declaration is to be found in a draft prepared with great care by the secretariat of the United Nations. The advantage of the secretariat draft is that it was written after a careful study of bills of rights written into existing national constitutions. Social rights as well as individual rights are included. Unfortunately, this draft was considered too long and too detailed, and Professor Cassin of France was given the thankless task of "boiling down" the statement into a briefer and more general form. The danger is that in the boiling-down process the meat and the marrow of the original will have been boiled out. Another large pious statement will represent no advance toward binding international law. On the other hand, a firm declaration of rights, passed by the General Assembly, while having no legal force, will be bound to exert a considerable moral influence. Before the delegates come together for the Human Rights Commission meeting in August, it is to be hoped that they will all study seriously the secretariat's document, to see if the subcommittee's work cannot be substantially strengthened.

# A Slight Case of Murder

THE House last week gave the coup de grâce to federal public housing. The spot was choice, the blow deft, but the hand that delivered it was the building-and-loan lobby's. Whether housing survives or not is now up to the Senate.

The lobby, which makes it a point to get its member associations to hire Congressmen as its lawyers or officers, first influenced a House investigation into the Federal Public Housing Authority. The findings sound like a dossier by our Puritan fathers, and a few little P-1 clerks may now lose their heads for drinking in public. The "scandal," released at the strategic moment, formed part of the committee recommendations to slice a third off FPHA's administrative budget and double the required contribution of the cities in tax exemption.

But the most serious blow is the reduction from $7,200,000 to $2,200,000 in annual subsidies due to local housing authorities and the requirement that their reserves, which are set up annually to cover future rent losses and repairs, be sliced in half.

This may seem harmless, but maintenance of the reserves and payment by the government of the annual subsidies is part of the bargain with private lenders,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

who have advanced hundreds of millions to housing authorities at interest rates as little as 1.5 per cent, relying on the government's commitment to fulfil its contract. The housing-authority bond up to now was one of the prime securities in the country. As a result, housing authorities have been able to dispense with the need for huge federal loans and have also reduced the required federal subsidies to a fraction of the original estimate. If the authorities are forced to revert to government borrowing, it is doubtful whether any future Congress will authorize the huge federal loans that would be essential.

One would imagine that the House, in its current mood of economy, would encourage financial savings and protect the formulae responsible for them. Yet strangely, even the faith and credit of our government appears less important to the present Congress than the scuttling of public housing. Not only would the agreement with the lenders be breached and the solvency of the projects menaced, but the marketability of public-housing bonds would be affected for all future issues.

Already Wall Street buzzes with the story that the credit of the United States is now good only if the purpose for which it is pledged is the kind that will be politically palatable to every succeeding Congress. It is hoped that in the Senate the influence of the building-and-loan associations will weigh less than the faith and credit of the United States of America.

# *Marketing the Plan*

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE job of explaining the Marshall plan to this country and the world is not going to be an easy one—but it is one of the most vital parts of the whole project. First of all it is necessary to let the peoples of Europe know that the plan is in effect a substitute for, not an extension of, the provocative, clumsy anti-Soviet crusade launched by Mr. Truman in Greece and Turkey. Indeed, that crusade itself will have to be amended in practice if the Marshall plan is to succeed. For the cooperation of Russia and its satellite states is essential to the revival of a healthy economy in Europe, as *The Nation* pointed out last week. It is also essential to the Continent's political health. Even the Vatican has lately expressed alarm over the effect on Europe of the hardening hostility between the U. S. S. R. and the United States. As Walter Lippmann pointed out in a comment on the Vatican's warning, the European nations want American help but not under conditions that will force them toward an irreparable break with the Soviet Union.

The Continent must be convinced that the Marshall plan is aimed at avoiding such a division by making possible a revival of industry and trade on a world scale. Mr. Marshall's slightly delayed assurance that Russia was included in the scope of his proposal, followed by the French invitation to Mr. Molotov, has happily resulted in Russia's agreement to join France and Britain in exploring the possibilities of the plan. This is a good start. But it will be necessary, if the usual deadlocks are to be avoided, to make it clear on this side that no conditions will be laid down which would shut out nations whose economic and political methods are socialistic or even revolutionary. This final assurance has not yet been offered, and it is admittedly an awkward one to have to advertise. But how can it be avoided? How can we expect Russia to join in drawing up a plan for the restoration of Europe's economy and refuse to include those states which are imitating—however half-heartedly and partially—Russia's economic system? And how can Europe's economy be restored if a large part of Europe is to be denied the dollars required to reanimate the circulatory system of the Continent as a whole?

Europe knows all this. Even the more conservative governments would today refuse to join a coalition against those on the other side of the almost visible ideological line that runs across Europe and through each country. Their best hope lies in a revival of Continental prosperity—east and west, right and left—and in a gradual resulting amelioration of the hostility between Russia and America. If Mr. Marshall accepts this view, as his Cambridge speech indicated, he must make it amply clear to Europe.

In doing so, he must also make the American people understand why the emphasis has shifted from an anti-Communist crusade to the restoration of Europe. This will be still harder, for the country has been stuffed with the imminent and overpowering threat of communism until a large part of the population reacts only to fear of Russian aggression. It was fear of Russia alone that propelled the Greek-Turkish aid bill through Congress. How is the new plan to be carried out in the face of growing reaction and growing nationalism? How are Congress and the people to be convinced of the necessity of spending American dollars to restore Europe? The one way that will work, I believe, is also the only honest way of stating the case.

For the truth is that the United States cannot afford to let Europe's recovery collapse for lack of dollars. This is a simple fact that should equally impress Robert A. Taft and his most left-wing opponents. Without dollars, the other nations will have to stop buying the equipment on which the revival of their industries and agriculture depends. Without increased output of the products we need, they cannot export enough to America to get dollars in exchange. And until both production and exports mount, they are bound to exhaust the limited dollars now available in buying food to keep their people from going hungry. The problem, viewed from this side, is not pri-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

marily a problem of foreign collapse or suffering; it is a problem of America's balance of payments with the world as a whole. The Marshall plan, put simply, is an attempt to reestablish the capacity of the world, starting with our best customers, to buy American goods. Our own economy will slump, our prosperity will disappear almost overnight, if the huge output of American factories, whose capacity to produce—as Mr. Sternberg recalls elsewhere in this issue—increased 50 per cent during the war, cannot find overflow markets outside the United States. In essence, this means that our balance of payments will be restored only if we give away goods, or the dollars required to buy goods. If we fail to do so, a depression will result which would not only produce the dangers and miseries we well remember, but would drag the rest of the world into economic depths from which no Marshall plan could pull it.

This story, told fully and honestly by persons, like those included in President Truman's new committees, whose knowledge is widely respected, should convince most Americans of the need of appropriating the billions necessary for Europe's recovery. It will tend to offset the panic fear of Russia, generated partly by Moscow's own provocative methods, partly by the chauvinist press in America, and partly by the monumental blunder of the Truman Doctrine. It will reassure Europe and relieve it of the horrid burden of American benevolence, for the Marshall plan, in essence, is an expression of long-range, intelligent self-interest, not of charity.

Above all, it will relieve this country of the temptation to proceed unilaterally as we did in Greece and Turkey. A new, Europe-wide, anti-Russian crusade would preclude action through the United Nations; but the Marshall plan, based from the start on a request for European initiative, logically implies full utilization of the agencies and powers of the United Nations. The Economic Commission for Europe, headed by the noted Swedish economist Gunnar Myrdal, has already prepared a preliminary report on Europe's economic needs. With this as a basis, the specifications called for by Mr. Marshall can be rapidly perfected. There must be no question this time of by-passing the world organization.

# *Can Our Dollars Save Europe?*

BY BLAIR BOLLES

*Washington, June 22*

ONE difference between war and peace is that during war men are hopeful. World War II was still in progress when Harry Truman, on June 26, 1945, welcomed the signing of the United Nations Charter as the birth of the "Parliament of Man." As huzzahs resounded from San Francisco around the globe, most people foresaw the development of "one world" and the maintenance of peace through the United Nations. Now that peace is with us, the enthusiasm is gone. And the world seems to be cracking in two. In these depressing circumstances President Truman and Secretary of State George C. Marshall have made an offer of the use of United States dollars as an adhesive to hold it together. Will the dollars do the job?

The grand purpose of their expenditure is to win Russia from the isolationist ways of Communist imperialism and induce it to support our notions of setting the world in order. If Russia fails to go along in the project, the secondary purpose of the money is to create a Western European bloc without Russia and without the Eastern European states which the United States, by its refusal to understand the political currents in those long-oppressed countries, has worked hard and successfully to push into the Russian lap. General Lucius D. Clay, the American administrator in Berlin, said on June 18 that the rehabilitation of Germany "would fit into Secretary of State Marshall's plan for European recovery to great advantage." Evidently German peacetime factories are to back up the dollar in overcoming the destruction caused by German war factories.

The use of American dollars to restore world stability was first suggested by Under Secretary of State Dean Acheson at Cleveland, Mississippi, on May 8. Secretary Marshall presented the proposal at Harvard on June 5 as a combined American-European reconstruction plan. It is the result of lessons learned painfully by President Truman and Secretary of the Treasury John Snyder and the State Department since Alcide de Gasperi, the Italian Prime Minister, came to Washington looking for money last January and was sent home with a promise of $100,000,000 in Export-Import Bank credits. The credits did not solve his problem. He needed to reconstuct his country, and he was given a chance to buy some goods in America. During the next six months the Administration came to understand that it cannot revive Europe by offering individual countries limited commercial opportunities. The economic problem of Europe is how to become productive itself, not how to enjoy the fruits of American production.

The Administration has learned that the Continent

*BLAIR BOLLES is director of the Washington bureau of the Foreign Policy Association.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

does not welcome American dollars forced upon it in the determination to save Europe according to a made-in-America financial formula. It has called upon Europe, therefore, to reach an agreement "as to the requirements of the situation and the part those countries themselves will take in order to give proper effect to whatever action might be taken by the American government." The Administration knows, too, that the American public was repelled by the brassy suggestion of a crusade in the Truman Doctrine and by the disclosure that America intended to keep the "free" peoples of Greece and Turkey under the native tyrants then haphazardly oppressing them in order to save them from Russia or from native Communists. It is trying to win over public opinion at home by proposals that seem to offer the hope of a lasting peace.

Most important of all, the Administration has learned that the economic plight of Europe is the result of something besides Russian deviltry. It seems to have been caused by the war. So the situation is subject to improvement without the sound effects of moral diatribes shouted in the direction of Moscow.

Nevertheless, a man in the inner circles of the State Department laughed when I asked him if the Marshall proposal was a departure from the Truman Doctrine. He said no, and he was right, so far as the ultimate purpose of both is concerned. Both were conceived as a way to stop Russia without war. That is the all-consuming passion in the State, War, and Navy departments.

To strengthen the government for the capitalist struggle against communism, Marshall is bringing in two Wall Street men as his top assistants; Robert Lovett is to become Under Secretary of State on July 1, and Charles E. Salzman, vice-president of the Stock Exchange, was nominated yesterday to be Assistant Secretary of State in charge of occupation affairs (German, Austrian, Japanese, and Korean).

The Soviet government's acceptance of the invitation of Bevin and Bidault to join in a conference to discuss how the American dollars can best be spent may mark the beginning, not of a new peaceful relationship between the two intransigent Brobdingnagians but of a new phase of their struggle. All Europe, not merely the eastern or the western portion, may now be the prize. If Europe, including Russia, agrees on a plan for utilizing American aid, the United States will be able to circulate freely in Danubia, but at the same time Russia will have an opportunity to spread its benefits through the countries fringing the Bay of Biscay and the North Sea.

Europe's attitude toward the Marshall proposal must be judged by the slowly gathering public reaction rather than by the exchanges between Bevin and Bidault at their spectacular Paris meeting. Already we know that the United States does not appear to all people abroad, even in neighboring Canada, as the gentle lamb described by our statesmen. The proposal to arm Perón, the use of Canada as our Arctic shield, the continued manufacture of atomic bombs, the backing we give the reactionaries who govern Rome—these things puzzle foreigners who have heard that we believe in full freedom for all nations to deal with others, and with ourselves, as they will, provided it is honorably.

The first reaction of the Russians to Marshall's proposal of American aid showed how the seeds of distrust have grown since the Yalta conference, the high-water mark in Russian-American relations. Russia may be won over, but it will not be gulled. "The former political meaning of the United States policy of help remains unchanged," Leontyev wrote in *Pravda* on June 16. In England and France the moderate papers, the *Observer* and the *Times, Libération* and *L'Aube,* approved the offer of aid. Italian Foreign Minister Sforza called it "one of the most noble attempts to save peace." Not all non-Communists in Europe agreed with him. The Socialist radio in the Netherlands broadcast: "The tragedy of the European situation is that in many cases, though not in all, American aid will be accepted by governments which certainly do not have the well-being of the masses of the people at heart."

The Netherlands government, jointly with Belgium and Luxembourg, sent Marshall a note accepting his suggestion in principle. The three countries dispatched the message on the eve of their merger in a tariff union, a step toward European unity which, if extended across the whole Continent, might accelerate though it could not assure its restoration. The simultaneous formation of an economic union in Eastern Europe has increased American suspicion of Russia, just as Marshall's recent statement that he favored a United States of Europe struck Russia as menacing. The tragedy of the world is that the two great countries can see no good in each other.

The success or failure of the Marshall proposal will not be determined by the attitude of Russia. It depends primarily on the United States. It draws together all the issues of the time. It affects employment and prosperity. If Europe cut down to $8,000,000,000 the $16,000,000,000 worth of goods it now buys every year, factories would close, jobs would be lost. President Truman could not sign the tax bill when he contemplated sending $24,000,000,000 abroad in the next four years. He could not sign a labor bill which would imperil our industrial stability and prevent us from turning out the goods Europe must have. The proposal goes to the heart of the issue between Truman and the Republicans—economy.

Will the penny-pinching Eightieth Congress agree to send $24,000,000,000 across the ocean? It might, if the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

consequences of a drop in exports were dramatized for it. Yet there is strong evidence that a new isolationism is arising to combat the Administration on this issue. The United States is becoming fearful of exporting. The cry, "We are throwing away our substance," was raised here during the war in an effort to hold to a minimum the movement of lend-lease goods abroad, especially to Russia. Bernard Baruch made the same protest a little over a year ago. In opposing the $3,750,000,000 loan to Britain, he said that the United States should take an inventory of its resources before it sent any more out of the country. Now this miser's chant has been repeated by Herbert Hoover, who told Senator Bridges of New Hampshire that we are exporting more than we can afford. Senator Byrd, the perennial economizer from Virginia, has joined this export-and-die crowd.

The Administration itself stiffened objections to further aid for foreign nations when it encouraged the belief not long ago that the need for big spending abroad was over. Clayton helped along the revolt by his acquiescence in the abrupt cutting off of lend-lease at the close of the war with Japan, and by his vulgar statement last summer that the "gravy train" was going around for the last time—meaning the United States would give help through UNRRA for just one more year. Truman could have prepared the country and Congress for the dollar-aid proposal by dealing with it in his budget message last January, but he did not say a word. The truth is that the Administration is just awakening to the significance of Europe's economic problems. It did not understand it in January. Last year's foreign policy, based on economic optimism and political pessimism, has given way to pessimism all around.

Can our dollars save Europe if Congress says yes?

# *Meet Our Greek Allies*

BY CONSTANTINE POULOS

*Athens, May 29*

SO GREECE, still bearing the heavy imprint of the Ottoman Empire, is now an outpost of the West, a bulwark against Slavism and communism, almost a forty-ninth state.

We might as well face it. Let's not cloud the issue with a lot of talk about democracy, free institutions, free nations, and human values. We are out to stop communism because it threatens the American system; we think Greece is the place to start; and we will use whatever methods are necessary, just as the others do, only better and more refined.

Possibly some of the Americans who come to Greece for the first time as members of the American mission won't understand the hypocrisy, arrogance, deceit, and corruption which are the Greek government and the Greek ruling class today. The American embassy will cushion the shock. Dispassionately, patiently, it will brief the newcomers on the "complexities" of the situation. As a precautionary measure, too, the embassy will place some of its own people ("who, after all, know the situation inside out") in the new mission as "special assistants" and "liaison officers"; just as it did with the mission to observe the elections last year and the United Nations Commission of Inquiry this year.

In any case the Americans on the new mission will receive a warm welcome from the nice people, the people who will flatter them in faultless English and say, as one Royalist paper said recently, "It is our great fortune that in this struggle against the left we shall have on our side the most courageous, the richest, and the most decisive power in the world."

The Greeks in power today are good at this sort of thing. They have been doing it with the Germans and British ever since 1915.

On May 6, 1941, nine days after the Germans occupied Athens, Spyros Melas, writing in the newspaper *Kathimerini,* attacked those who "still felt a nostalgia for a liberal economy and for the liberal prattle of plutocratic democracies." "We must digest the fact," he said, "that the idyllic system of economic anarchy, of super-individualism, of greed, of wealth without bounds, of egotistic waste of life's riches, of monstrous inequalities and unrestrained exploitation belongs to the past, and it shall never return. We must resolutely sweep out the old molds. Revolt against the liberal plutocratic world!"

On March 4, 1947, the day Secretary Marshall confirmed the reports that the United States was moving into Greece, the same writer said in the Athens newspaper *Embros* that America was "now presenting itself at its proper post, as a Great and True Free Democracy, whose role is to stand as a guarantor of the existence and freedom of peoples. The Greek people believe in the great civilizing mission of America." Melas ended by

*CONSTANTINE POULOS is the Balkan correspondent of the Overseas News Agency and a frequent contributor to* The Nation. *His series, The Revolution in Eastern Europe, the first article of which appeared last week, has been interrupted to permit the insertion of this pertinent report on Greece.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

attacking those "who dare to criticize the supporters of the freedom of the world."

This sort of thing, if they become aware of it, should not upset innocent Americans who come to Greece. They will have to get used to dealing with the people who dealt with the Nazis. Besides, there are too many things in Greece that may upset them. If, for example, they see a photograph such as was published in one of the Royalist papers on April 10, showing seven decapitated heads neatly arranged in a triangle on the ground, they may shudder. But unless someone translates the small items from the newspapers for them, they will not learn about the heads of five boys between the ages of fifteen and twenty which were displayed in front of the gendarmerie station in Sparta as a warning to others who might be thinking of going to the mountains.

Yet the Greek government under our pressure will certainly make some new farcical amnesty offer to the guerrillas, and the American embassy will explain to the neophytes: "You see, the government is acting in good faith. We cannot understand why the bandits don't come down out of the mountains. Of course, most of them would if they could, but their fanatical Communist leaders won't let them."

There are lots of interesting little items in the newspapers that help one to understand what is going on in Greece today, but they are easy to miss, and "besides, there's so much more to the story," as the American embassy explains whenever anyone refers to them. For instance, it was reported in the newspapers on March 26 that Miltiades Bambakas was arrested on a street in Athens. At the police station he was beaten to death. No action was taken by the government. The newspapers didn't mention it again.

Demetrios Androvitsaneas, a sixty-two-year-old veteran of the Balkan wars and a member of the 7th Regiment of E. L. A. S. on the island of Euboia during the occupation, was being treated for advanced tuberculosis in an Athens hospital. Last month they caught up with him. They told him the hospital didn't have room for "traitors" and "Slavo-Communists" and put him out. He died a few days later.

*Estia*, the newspaper of the big industrialists—the liberal papers have been calling it "the fascist widow" ever since Mussolini's death—recently unburdened itself. "It's a good thing that the Jewish-Communist organization UNRRA is concluding its activities in Greece, for UNRRA thought it could remain neutral in our struggle and give food, clothing, and medical assistance to everyone, regardless of their politics." Now *Estia* is attacking the Greek War Relief Association of America for having the same incomprehensible attitude about relief.

"The Security Battalions," formed by the Germans with the help of the last Greek quisling government to fight the resistance forces, "are considered instruments of the enemy," declared a statement signed in Italy on September 26, 1944, by General H. Maitland Wilson, Supreme Allied Commander in the Mediterranean Theater, and by Harold H. Macmillan, British Resident Minister. On April 16, 1947, the Athens daily *Ethnikos Kirix* said in an editorial that "the successful organization and arming of the Security Battalions during the occupation was a stupendous accomplishment on the part of Rallis and his coworkers." Rallis was the quisling Prime Minister.

One minor collaborator was executed on December 4, 1944, as a gesture which it was thought might halt the revolt then beginning. The second collaborator to be executed since the liberation of Greece was shot three days after President Truman unveiled his famous doctrine.

"There is freedom of the press, isn't there?" "Why, sure, just look at the leftist papers published here in Athens." But let the American members of the new mission try to buy a leftist newspaper in any city except Athens and Salonika, in Levadia, Lamia, Larissa, Trikalla, or Volos, or even a centrist paper in Sparta or Preveza. Since last July the E. A. M. paper in Salonika has been suppressed three times and the Communist Party organ five times. Each suppression has meant court decisions against the editors and printers, with one man sentenced to five years' imprisonment, two to seven years, one to fourteen and one-half years, one to twenty years, one to fifty-two and one-half years, and three given life. (The data on sentences were obtained from the Information Department of the British embassy in Athens.)

Of course, there is another way of taking care of the press. On March 30 three armed men entered the printing plant of the Communist paper in Salonika, fired at the workers with tommy-guns, and then threw a grenade as they withdrew. Three printers were killed and seven wounded. The gendarmes guarding the plant "happened to be away from their posts," the government explained. No one has been arrested yet. (Fifty-five leftist papers have been closed down by official suppression, terrorism, or destruction of the printing plants by rightist mobs and security authorities since the present government came to power in April last year.)

One more story to fill in the picture. First Lieutenant Panayiotis Katsareas, a Greek army reserve officer, joined the Security Battalions and fought with the Germans against the guerrillas during the occupation. After the resistance movement disbanded and laid down its arms, Katsareas was made a regular army officer with the rank of captain and took up the struggle against the unarmed members of the resistance.

With a band of his own although he was on the government pay roll, he roamed the Sparta area killing men, women, and children. From August 1 last year to Octo-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ber 10 he killed at least fifty-eight persons, thirty-five of them on one day in the little mountain village of Bambakou in Laconia. The government in Athens issued statements "denouncing him" and "ordered his arrest." But Katsareas knew they were not serious. He sat calmly in Sparta visiting with his friends in the gendarmerie and the army, attended public functions in the company of federal and provincial authorities, and made speeches on holidays.

The resurrection of the guerrilla movement cramped his style, however, and he didn't go very far up the mountains. One day last March he strayed a bit too far from Sparta and in a battle with the guerrillas was killed.

The next day, March 21, the military commander of Laconia, Major George Kourkoulis, addressed a letter to Katsareas's men in which he said: "You must not cry for your unforgettable leader. He did not die. He is with you and with us. . . . Inspired by the example of this heroic figure, go forward with us to the great victory. . . . Vengeance on the cowardly murderers!"

That day Katsareas's men entered the town of Gytheion, dragged thirty-two political prisoners out of the local jail, and executed them in the public square. Major Kourkoulis's statement was published in the Sparta newspaper *Ethniki Phoni* two days later, and in the next few days Katsareas's band killed thirty-two more people in villages near Sparta.

Three ministers rushed to the Peloponnesus from Athens—by sea. No one was arrested. No one was punished. The Minister of Public Order, Napoleon Zervas, informed the government from Sparta of his decision not to remove Major Kourkoulis from his post. Returning to Athens, the Ministers of War and Interior explained that the massacre of the political prisoners was a "natural rising of the nationalist populace."

The Royalist press in Athens ho-hummed and noted that since most of the men in the prison were under sentence of death anyway, it did not really matter very much, and one paper even recommended that political prisoners held in other jails should be transferred to Gytheion. (British sources estimate that there are 11,000 political prisoners in Greek prisons today.)

Still no one has been arrested or punished. And all this happened while the House and Senate were considering President Truman's request for aid to the government of Greece.

It is a miserable situation we are inheriting, full of hatred, cruelty, bitterness, and iniquity. But let's not kid ourselves on this point, either. We are not likely to bring about many fundamental changes. The Greeks in power will use us for all we are worth. We think we are doing them a favor; they know they are doing us a bigger one. They'll take the dollars, they'll make some revisions in their economic and political policies to please us, and sooner or later they'll ask for more money. Even $250,000,000 won't go far toward winning a civil war and rebuilding a shattered and looted economy. That will take more millions, and "stronger" methods.

# *The 250 Industrial Giants*

BY FRITZ STERNBERG

NOW that American credit and American production are to be geared to the economic needs of the war-damaged nations of Europe in an effort to avert the progressive disintegration of the political and economic life of the Continent, it becomes more than ever necessary to examine the structure of the system on which this whole enterprise depends. We know that the productive capacity of the United States outstrips that of the other nations of the world put together. We know the dollar is the currency on which all others, even the pound sterling, are based. What remains is to see clearly how the controls of the American system are operated, to identify the groups and individuals that have in their hands the economic levers. For under our free-enterprise theory, however modified in practice, the people who dominate American business are also, to a large extent, the economic dictators of the world.

*FRITZ STERNBERG, a German economist now living in this country, is the author of "The Coming Crisis."*

Today the amazing fact is that 250 leading corporations in the United States produce a volume of goods equal to that of the rest of the capitalist world, *including the residual industry of this country.* This state of affairs is the result of two lines of development which began long before the recent war.

The first is the steady growth of America's share in total world production. Throughout the last hundred years American output has increased faster than that of the rest of the world. Britain, whose production in 1850 equaled the combined totals of all other countries, was outstripped by the United States as early as 1880. After that date the United States not only had the lead but steadily increased the margin between itself and the other industrial powers. America's share of production at

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the outbreak of World War I was a little more than one-third of the world total. Nothing more clearly indicates the declining importance of Europe and the growing preponderance of the American role.

In 1913 Europe accounted for 53 per cent of world production, but by 1919 and 1920 this had sunk to 41 per cent. The goods turned out in the United States in 1928 actually exceeded in volume those produced by the whole of Europe. In that year, the last before the great economic crisis, the relative contributions to world production of the major industrial countries were: the United States, 40 per cent; Germany, 12 per cent; Great Britain, 9 per cent; France, 7 per cent. This country was already producing 60 per cent more goods than the three next largest industrial nations combined.

But the effect of World War II on the balance of economic power was even more sensational. During and since the war American productive capacity has enormously increased; so that in the present year it is approximately 50 per cent greater than it was before 1939. What is even more important than the rise itself is, of course, the fact that it has occurred in an epoch during which the rest of the world has experienced a sharp decline. Physical destruction and the depletion of resources and capital have increased the disparity which America's huge war production would in any case have created. Years will elapse before the Soviet Union can reach even its pre-war levels of output, and Germany will not regain its pre-war productivity in any near future no matter what policy the occupying authorities adopt. In varying degrees this holds true for most of the other countries directly involved in the war. The result is that, on a conservative estimate, the United States is now producing 60 per cent of the entire output of the world, including Russia.

At no time during the last hundred years has any single state achieved such economic preeminence. Nor is American superiority only a question of manufactured goods, for industrial growth has naturally been accompanied by a huge expansion of financial power. Before the First World War the big capital-exporting countries were England, Germany, and France. Britain alone possessed as great a volume of capital invested abroad as the rest of the world combined. Germany became a debtor country as a result of the war of 1914-19, while France not only lost the greater part of its foreign investments but found itself unable to continue to make loans to other countries. In the decade between the two wars only Britain among the European nations continued to export any considerable amount of capital.

It was in the ten years following Versailles that the United States appeared on the scene as a major exporter of capital. "From 1919 through 1929 foreign loans floated in the United States provided some $7,500,000,000 of new capital to other countries," says a Department of Commerce bulletin published in 1943, "or more than the total of similar issues floated in the United Kingdom, France, the Netherlands, and all other capital-lending countries combined." Since World War II, of course, Britain has joined the debtor countries, and American superiority in the financial field is unchallenged. Today the United States possesses not only the most powerful of all productive systems but also a monopoly of money power.

This establishment of world dominance has been accompanied by a rapid tightening of industrial power within the United States. The development was summarized in a recent Senate report on "Economic Concentration in World War II" in these words:

> Closely paralleling the rise in importance of corporations was the increasing sphere of activities controlled by a relatively small number of corporate units. Thus the 200 largest non-financial corporations increased their relative importance from ownership of one-third of the assets in 1909, to 48 per cent in 1929, and to 59 per cent in the early thirties. The sharp upward sweep in the twenty years before the crash of 1929 is confirmed by another series [of figures] showing that the percentage of the total net income of all non-financial corporations (income corporations only) earned by the 20 largest . . . increased from 33 per cent in 1920 to 43 per cent in 1929.

Developments during the last years of peace and the first part of the Second World War are described in the Senate report as follows:

> For the period 1931 to 1942 data are available indicating the percentage of total manufacturing assets held by corporations possessing more than $50,000,000 in assets. This group of corporations represents the giants of industry and may be used broadly to measure the trend in concentration up to recent times. In 1942 there were 205 such giant manufacturing corporations. This group of manufacturing corporations, after declining in importance from ownership of 46 per cent of the total in 1931 to 37 per cent in 1934, rose sharply to the point of ownership of 49 per cent of all the corporate manufacturing assets in 1942.

The power concentrated in the big corporations became even greater during the war than in the preceding decades. The value of the nation's present facilities for production can be estimated by adding to the $40,000,000,000 of gross capital assets of the year 1939 the $20,000,000,000 worth of new war-time plants that are available for peace-time use. Who owns this vast, highly equipped productive system? How much of it is controlled by big business and how much is held by smaller firms?

The answer to these questions is to be found in the holdings of the 250 largest manufacturing corporations,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

31 of which are controlled by 5 financial groups. These corporations are, for the most part, the traditional giants of American industry. In 1939 they owned 65 per cent of the nation's fixed capital. During the war they operated 79 per cent of all new plant facilities built with federal funds, and in September, 1944, held 78 per cent of the primary war-supply contracts. Possessing nearly $30,000,000,000 of capital assets in 1939, they have added $3,700,000,000 in privately financed new facilities and have operated additional plants accounting for nearly $9,000,000,000 of the $11,500,000,000 war-time facilities estimated to be usable for peace-time production. If these industrial giants finally acquire the plants on which they have purchase options, their holdings will come to $38,500,000,000, or 66.5 per cent of total usable facilities in America.

Even today these 250 huge corporations control two-thirds of American industry. They are able to produce as much as the whole American economy before the war, when the United States produced almost half of the world's goods. Today with European industry hampered by lack of material, plant, and buying power and by the destruction of capital values, the 250 American giants can produce as much as the rest of world industry within and outside of the United States. This is an economic fact to be pondered by the nations of Europe as they prepare to qualify for American help under the Marshall plan.

# *Perón's Expanding Empire*

BY ALBERT C. HICKS

THROUGHOUT its 122 years as an independent nation Bolivia, landlocked Andean republic, has dangled as a tempting prize before a succession of Latin American *caudillos* thirsting for power and riches. In the nineteenth century they coveted its silver and gold. During the twentieth it has offered tin and oil and the potential wealth of its vast unworked mineral deposits.

Always a weak nation despite its natural resources, Bolivia has never relied upon its own military power to protect itself against its neighbors. The four biggest countries of South America lie adjacent: Argentina, Chile, Brazil, and Peru. But in the event of a threat by any one of these, the other giants would combine to check the aggressor. For the nation that gets control of Bolivia's natural wealth can dominate the continent.

This fact lies behind many of the political maneuvers of Juan Domingo Perón, chief of the Argentine state. Prevented from using force against Bolivia, Perón has taken a more devious but very effective course.

After the Bolivian revolution of July, 1946, the Revolutionary Junta produced documentary proof that the fallen dictatorship of Gualberto Villarroel had been in league with Perón and had planned to make Bolivia a vassal state of Argentina. With his friends the militarists out of power and the interim government opposed to his schemes, Perón could only hope for a counter-revolution. Four major efforts to bring one about were made before February, 1947, and although all were abortive, they served to shake the structure of the struggling democracy.

As soon as the interim democratic government was set up under Judge Tomás Monje Gutierrez, Peronista newspapers in Buenos Aires loosed a barrage of vituperation at Monje and his ministers. Two months later a former Bolivian army officer made an attempt on Monje's life, and a mob of revolutionaries, suspecting a militarist coup, hanged the would-be assassin and two of Villarroel's former henchmen. Perón at once had his Congress condemn the La Paz government, charging that it had instigated the mob action.

When Bolivians went to the polls to choose a constitutional President in January, 1947, the elections were declared entirely free and democratic by all objective observers. Perón's newspapers, however, screamed that they were a fraud. Before the results were made official, Bolivian counter-revolutionaries told Aymará Indians in the Lake Titicaca region that the La Paz government planned to massacre them and confiscate their lands. They then passed out arms and ammunition to the Indians and the expected uprising occurred. After it had been put down there was an investigation into the source of the arms, since it was known that Bolivian militarists had not been allowed to retain any after the revolution. Whatever facts were uncovered, they were not made public. If the trail led to Perón, the Bolivian government could hardly have been expected to reveal it.

Perón's strongest weapon was starvation. He forbade all shipments of foodstuffs, including livestock and packed meats, from Argentina to Bolivia. While the order was put in force immediately after the revolution, the Bolivians did not feel the results of it at once. But by December it was apparent that they faced a serious

*ALBERT C. HICKS, author of "Blood in the Streets: The Life and Rule of Trujillo," has recently returned from a trip through South America.*

LIBRARY
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
JOHNSON CITY, TENNESSEE
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

shortage of food. The interim government appealed to the United States for help. Washington rejected the plea on the ground that commitments for food deliveries elsewhere precluded further exports. This left Bolivia almost wholly dependent upon Perón. Surrender to his demands was inevitable if Washington persisted in refusing aid.

Unfortunately Washington also refused to pay the price Bolivia sought for the tin of the independent companies headed by Mauricio Hochschild. Great Britain has long contracted for the total output of the Simon Patiño mines. In 1942 the United States government signed a contract for the 17,000-ton yearly output of the independents. The contract ran out this year, and Hochschild, acting for the independents, negotiated with the Reconstruction Finance Corporation for its renewal with a rise in price from 69 cents a pound to 76 cents. The mining companies, backed by the Bolivian government, which depends upon the exportation of tin for revenue, argued that the seven-cent rise was in line with the soaring prices of all minerals. The RFC offered to pay first 72, then 73, then 74 cents, but the Bolivian government stood firm on its demand for 76 cents, maintaining that increased production costs made mining tin unprofitable unless this price could be obtained.

Left begging for a tin market, running out of food, torn by internal strife, its democracy tottering, Bolivia was ripe for Perón's plucking by the time Enrique Hertzog, elected President in January, took office in March. A trade mission from Buenos Aires headed by a special ambassador had spent February in La Paz furthering Perón's plans with a lavish display of generosity—it offered to pay 76 cents for the entire tin output of the independents, to provide a loan of $65,500,000, and to resume the movement of foodstuffs into Bolivia. Perón's reward was to be Bolivia's economic dependence upon Argentina, which in a very short time must lead to political dependence. Most of the funds involved in the agreement were to be used for industrial and transportation projects greatly needed in undeveloped Bolivia. These projects, however, were to be managed by a joint commission dominated by Perón's appointees.

President Hertzog's first major act was to sign this trade treaty. One of its provisions bound Bolivia to ship Argentina 8,000 tons of the independents' 17,000 tons of exportable tin in 1947. The tin started moving immediately, the first shipment being made in March, whereupon the RFC belatedly rushed in with an offer of 76 cents and salvaged 9,000 tons of the 17,000 tons.

Having obtained the treaty with Bolivia, Perón announced to the Argentine Congress that the time had come to modernize the army. "Our pacifist tradition of respect for all peoples is not sufficient," he said. "A minimum of foresight is necessary in the midst of an armed world." The army, he declared, would be the guardian of the republic and contribute "to the defense of the southern part of the American continent." These utterances were intended not only to intimidate his neighbors but to remind Washington that in the event of another world war the Argentina of Perón, proud possessor of a modernized army and with Bolivia's mineral resources at its disposal, would be a force worthy of respect.

Blueprints for a pan-American military alliance have long been under consideration in Washington. Spruille Braden has opposed such an alliance. Even before he became Secretary of State, General Marshall was considered one of its leading advocates. Perón wants it because then the United States would send him more arms and ammunition.

In his bigger-and-better army speech Perón spoke of his industrial-socialization program, which would enable the nation to produce "armaments and materials of war." For advocates of the pan-American military alliance in the United States these were reassuring words. For Bolivia and other neighboring countries they evoked the image of a bully flexing his muscles. With Argentina in control of Bolivia's minerals and receiving arms from the United States, Brazil, the only South American nation now powerful enough to stand up to Perón, will find itself virtually impotent. Of course if a military alliance of all the Americas is formed, Brazil will also receive material aid from the United States. But Perón is now in a position to build a great, aggressive war machine.

As a formidable military power Argentina would become the Latin American pivot of a pan-American military-defense program. The United States would then be obliged to rely on Perón's integrity and respect for democracy. But alliance or no alliance, Perón's record indicates that he will fight on whichever side will best serve his interests.

*Perón*

As seen by Oscar Berger

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# The Chinese Students

BY JEAN LYON

*Peiping, China, May 23*

A MIXED sense of impending tragedy and of history in the making pervades university circles here this week. Nearly five thousand students paraded through Peiping's main streets three days ago in spite of a proclamation by Chiang Kai-shek and an emergency measure adopted by the State Council which suggested, although there was no definite prohibition, that student demonstrations were not welcomed by the government authorities. Other thousands of students in Nanking, Shanghai, Tientsin, and more remote university centers also held demonstrations. Reports of clashes between students and police or between students and unidentified persons are still coming in, and several reported deaths have heightened the tension.

Martial law was invoked in Peiping last night. The garrison commander has stated that in the future parades will be forbidden. University authorities, fearful of more violence and bloodshed, are trying to persuade the students that their job is in the classroom and not on the soapbox.

But the students have certainly found their tongues and the courage to use them. How significant their movement becomes may in part depend upon how far the government means to go in controlling or suppressing them. They seem in the mood this week to defy any attempt to stop them. "We have a new constitution which guarantees us freedom of speech," one of the student leaders remarked on the day of the parade. Some observers think this movement may prove to be of as great historical importance as the student protest against China's acceptance of Japan's Twenty-One Demands after the First World War.

But the political atmosphere in China at present is such that no one seems quite certain how spontaneous, how unified, or how genuine the movement is. Many persons, particularly those in government circles, insist that the strikes were incited by Communist agitators within the universities. The Generalissimo outlined this view in his statement to the nation on the evening of May 18, after several students had been hurt in a fracas in Peiping with the 208th Division of the Youth Army, and at the moment when student strikes were threatening to become widespread. Some of the students and a good many acute political observers believe that the agitation was first instigated by a clique within the Kuomintang to discredit the group which now dominates the newly reorganized government. It is thought that as the demonstrations became widespread, the agitation snowballed, and its instigators lost control. A third theory is that the students may have a few independent ideas of their own, and that the movement is largely honest student reaction to conditions in the country.

*JEAN LYON is correspondent in China for the North American Newspaper Alliance.*

It is indisputable that the students live on a subnormal diet in their college dining-rooms. Only those with funds from home for supplementary food and those who can qualify for the limited supplies of bean milk and the like supplied by international relief organizations can hope to keep their energy and health up to the standard necessary to handle their work. The incidence of such diseases as tuberculosis is startlingly high. Moreover, throughout the war period and in their trek back east last summer, the students have seen more of the country and of the conditions prevailing in vast areas of it than any other student generation in all China's history. It is not strange, therefore, that in their demonstration at Peiping they had two slogans: The people of China must not starve; the civil war must stop. With irrefutable logic they maintain that the nation's economy has been distorted by the heavy costs of civil war, and that until the civil war ends the people will not have enough to eat. They have carried their protest far beyond their own personal needs.

The demonstration was impressive. The students marched for five hours through the city streets. By the end of the afternoon their black hair was grayed by the dust. Hundreds of them ran beside the marchers doing special jobs along the sidewalks and up the alleys. Some plastered posters on city gates and garden walls. Some talked with the shopkeepers and coolies, housewives and peddlers, who lined the streets. Girl students in blue denim overalls and boys in faded khaki trousers carried buckets of tar and wrote large black-lettered slogans on whitewashed walls and paving stones. Their hands were black and their earnest faces smudged and perspiring. Among the paraders were perhaps a hundred air-force and army veterans in uniform, a number with service stripes from Burma campaigns—all now college students.

Behind the demonstration, at least apparently, was an orderly representative body of thirty students in Peiping from eleven different institutions. Strike headquarters were in a large classroom building on the Pei-ta (Peiping National University) campus. Only two important colleges in the city stayed out of the joint strike and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

parade—the Catholic college and China College. On the strike committee were the presidents and officers of the regular student associations, which one student explained "are organized very much like your American government. We have a congress and an executive body." Student associations and student assemblies representing the entire student-bodies voted on the strike action. Tactics were heatedly discussed. One of the arguments was about whether telegrams urging the end of civil war should be sent to the Communists as well as to the National Government. Peiyang University students did send a wire to the Communists. In other universities the argument prevailed that since they were not in Communist territory messages would have little effect.

Money for the printing of fliers and for the paper of the hand-made posters was raised in the lobby of strike headquarters. Students who went in and out of the building dropped their money in cardboard boxes.

Some forty professors and lecturers at Pei-ta came out with open expressions of sympathy for the students. Dr. Hu Shih, Pei-ta's president, although he had previously urged the students not to take so much time off from their studies, allowed them to quote him on May 19 as being sympathetic, and contented himself with urging them to keep their demonstration orderly and controlled.

It would be difficult for anyone not to subscribe to the two major protests made by the students—against starvation and rising prices, and against the civil war. One hears the same protests from almost everyone in China, whether he is a government representative or a roadside huckster. In voicing them, the students are only saying publicly what millions feel. Neither protest in its simplified form can be called the exclusive property of any one political party or group within a party.

Although the students offer no solution for China's problems, they may, if their actions win widespread sympathy among the people, exert effective pressure upon the government to make it seek and find a solution. Whether or not the students will gain great popular support remains to be seen. It depends partly on the methods the government adopts to handle the increasing unrest among them. And it depends partly on the students themselves—on whether they are being used as political puppets or are actually developing a genuine, unified student movement.

# *Bigotry in B-Flat*

## HOW THE BERKSHIRES FACE THE MUSIC

BY HORACE SUTTON

*Pittsfield, Massachusetts, June 19*

PRECISELY at 3:30 p. m., Sunday, July 13, Dr. Serge Koussevitsky will rap his baton on a music stand at Tanglewood, Massachusetts, and leading the orchestra in an all-Bach program formally open the 1947 Berkshire Music Festival. Before the series ends four weeks later at least a hundred thousand people will have poured into the village to hear the concerts, operas, and chorales. They will jam Tanglewood's Finnish-designed, $80,000 Music Shed, spill over on to its green lawns, lie under its birches, evergreens, and pines. On Saturday afternoons the crowds will come with their picnic baskets and pay a dollar to listen to the Boston Symphony in rehearsal. On Sunday mornings they will stretch out in the sun and watch the waters of Stockbridge Bowl ripple in the summer wind.

When these music lovers seek a place to lay their heads at nightfall, the story will become less melodious than malodorous. According to Haydn Mason, director of public relations of the Berkshire Hills Conference, the annual music festivals at Tanglewood aggravate a Berkshire sore point into what the county now considers a very important problem. Of the forty-three hotels and inns which the conference lists in its 1947 vacation guide Mr. Mason estimates that 50 per cent will not welcome Jews. At least one is militant on the subject.

"Actually we would have a problem here anyway because of our proximity to New York," says Mr. Mason, "but the Jewish people are artistic as a race, and the festival has amplified our predicament. I would say that 98 per cent of our inns would have no objection if Jews would conduct themselves according to ordinary standards, but they don't. Here's what happens. A car pulls up full of boisterous people. If they turn out to be Irish —o. k. If they're Italian—o. k. If they're Americans, nobody says anything. But if they're Jews, thumbs down."

As the official information center for the Berkshires, Mr. Mason's office gets some 15,000 inquiries about accommodations each year. The letters are opened and placed in a huge cardboard bin. Regardless of the type

*HORACE SUTTON contributes monthly articles on travel to* The Nation.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of name, Mason says, each applicant is sent a copy of the Berkshire Hills Vacation Guide, which lists the hotels, and another pamphlet which lists guest houses. Neither mentions clientèle restrictions. The prospective Berkshire vacationist then makes a selection and writes to one of the hotels. Mason says that half the hotels listed write back, "Please be advised we only cater to . . ." or "We only welcome. . . ." The guest houses, he indicated, are not so strict since they do not serve food, and Jews do not have as much opportunity to mingle with other guests.

During the 1946 summer season the festival and its related activities drew an estimated 160,000 persons to the Berkshires. Of this number Mason estimates that only one-half could be accommodated with the type of service and facilities the county would have liked to provide. Some 10,000 rooms in the county, Mason's office figures, brought a total return to the area of $100,000 a day. With perhaps an even larger crowd coming this year, some festival ticket-holders will be sleeping as far away as Danbury, Connecticut, sixty-two miles to the south.

The smart Jew who is aware of the local attitude, Mason says, does not even attempt to find a place in Berkshire County. He goes to a hotel in Albany, or he takes a room at a tourist house on the road before he gets to the Berkshires. There are 117 tourist houses, cabins, and small hotels between Danbury and Tanglewood, according to Mason's tally. "Other Jews," he says, "may sleep in their cars."

From Albany to Tanglewood is a thirty-seven-mile trip, but Mason explains that "it's only ten miles to Lebanon Valley, which is lined with guest houses." Copake Falls, New York, is "90 per cent Jewish, just like the Catskills." And Canaan, Connecticut, just over the state border, he says, is "wide open for them."

The Berkshire Hills Conference, which functions like a local chamber of commerce, is supported by a taxpayers' appropriation and by voluntary contributions. Although it is denied officially, apparently some strain exists between the conference, an old, established agency which aims to promote the whole Berkshire region over an eight-month period, and the infant music festival, which though it lasts only a month overshadows all other community activities. Mason quotes a townsman as saying last year, "I wouldn't give a dime to the Berkshire Hills Conference; look at all the Jews it has brought to the county." "We didn't bring them," Mason explains privately, "it's the music festival that brought them. But don't get me wrong. Some of our best families in Pittsfield are Jewish."

The Berkshire Hills Conference, which has two Jewish members, has gone on record against racial discrimination. They say that if any anti-Semitism exists in the area, they have not fostered or supported it. They agree that "some resort hotels in the county pursue a restricted-clientèle policy," but they make it plain that such an attitude "does not represent the policy of the Berkshire Hills Conference." Pittsfield journalists believe that local anti-Semitism stems mainly from the types of dress affected by the counselors and children from nearby Jewish camps and from the public's behavior at the festival rather than from "names and faces." A scorching letter was printed last year in the *Berkshire Eagle* berating visitors for sun-bathing and indecent dressing. With this exception the *Eagle* has given complete support to the festival.

Though Pittsfield elders have clearly rejected anti-Semitism, Jewish visitors to the Berkshires this year may expect a chilly welcome. A few weeks ago a man and his ill wife arrived at a New England hotel which they found to be run down and dilapidated. Hearing of another place where he thought his wife might be more comfortable, the man called and explained his predicament. The rest of the conversation went like this:

"Yes, we have a double room."

"Oh, that's fine."

"Are you a Christian?"

"No, I'm not."

"Well, then I don't think you'd be very comfortable here."

Tanglewood is near Lenox, Massachusetts. There is parking space on the grounds for 4,000 cars. The New Haven Railroad furnishes limited train service from New York to Great Barrington, Stockbridge, Lee, Lenox, and Pittsfield. The New York Central and the Boston and Albany also run to Pittsfield. Commercial air service operates to Albany and to Springfield-Westfield, and there is direct bus service to the concert grounds from all neighboring towns.

Tanglewood's first two Sunday-afternoon concerts, on July 13 and 20, will be given by skeleton orchestras of forty musicians. The regular week-end series begin on July 24, with three sets of programs scheduled for each Thursday evening, Saturday evening, and Sunday afternoon thereafter until August 10. Some 400 students who are studying at Tanglewood will present student-orchestra concerts, student operas, chamber music, and choral concerts. Tickets for the regular series are $6 for boxes, $4, $3, and $2.50 for other reserved seats. General admission is $2, and patrons are invited to bring blankets, beach chairs, and picnic baskets. Admission to student concerts is limited to the Friends of the Berkshire Music Center, which invites inquiries at Tanglewood, Lenox, Massachusetts. All the concerts of the regular series will be performed by the full Boston Symphony Orchestra, with Serge Koussevitsky as director.

The first guest conductor in the history of the music festival will be Leonard Bernstein, who will appear on Sunday afternoon, July 27—a fact I thought interesting under the circumstances.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# *Del Vayo*—Socialist Troubles

DURING three days in the second week of June the Socialist parties of Europe met at Zürich. Other bigger events—the Hungarian crisis, Secretary Marshall's Cambridge speech—made the conference pass almost unnoticed. Yet it was an important event revealing again the difficulties that obstruct the rebuilding of the Second International. Like the previous sessions at Clacton, Paris, and Bournemouth, the Zürich conference failed to find a solution. A new committee under French chairmanship was instructed to carry on the effort and maintain contact among the national parties. But the problems at issue were fully discussed, and the debate threw new light on the obstacles ahead.

The main one, of course, arises out of the difficult international situation. The continuing tension between Soviet Russia and the West has exercised its baneful influence on the Socialist parties more than on any other political group, creating such wide divisions as to leave little common ground on which an international organization could be set up. While eastern Socialists have tended to move nearer to Russia, in the degree to which the chance of an accord among the powers diminishes, Socialists in Western Europe have generally taken the contrary course. This obstacle to the re-establishment of the Second International would disappear as soon as relations between the three big powers improved. It may have been in the hope that ultimate reconciliation may be achieved next November at the Foreign Ministers' conference in London that the Socialists decided to hold their next meeting one month later, in Belgium.

Intimately dependent upon the course of Russian-Western relations is the other major problem with which the European parties have been wrestling since the end of the war: what principles should control Socialist policy toward the Communists? An intelligent previous report by Dennis Healey, secretary of the International Section of Transport House, recognized the special situation in which the Socialists of the Eastern European states find themselves. Unlike certain self-styled progressives who stamp as a Moscow tool any Socialist leader willing to work with the Communists, Mr. Healey emphasized the loyalty and wisdom of those eastern Socialists who, by adapting their policy to the situation existing in their countries, have maintained the parties and preserved a considerable measure of Socialist influence.

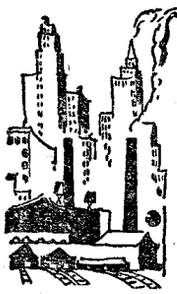
The problem is not one that affects Socialists in the eastern areas only. France has the same problem. So has Italy. And it presents more than one aspect. It is not merely the question of whether one wishes to collaborate with the Communists but of what are the alternatives to collaboration. British Laborites are here in an advantageous position. While in power they need not worry lest errors on their part give Conservatives or Liberals a chance to capture any considerable section of the party's membership—as, in France, the M. R. P. has captured from the Socialists considerable numbers of voters who oppose collaboration. Nor is there a threat from the far right such as De Gaulle's leadership offers the French Socialists. On the other hand, British Labor is secure against the left; the Communists so far provide no serious competition. At each convention the Labor Party promptly turns down the annual Communist request for affiliation and passes on to other subjects. In France the highly organized Communist Party, with 1,000,000 members and 5,000,000 votes, cannot be so lightly disposed of. On the contrary, the French Communists are in a position to capitalize on every Socialist slip, every sign of weakness. In these circumstances it is almost impossible to rebuild the Second International on the basis of a rigid position for or against collaboration that could be applied indiscriminately to all national sections.

The problem inevitably repeats itself inside each national party. The Italian Socialists split at the beginning of this year as a consequence of a long and bitter controversy over relations with the Communists. In France the party divided almost evenly in the National Council debate on Premier Ramadier's decision to govern without the Communist Party. Out of this dispute came the Executive Committee's dissolution of the Socialist Youth organization. During the Socialist commemorative celebration before the Mur des Fédérés the Socialist Youth had demonstrated against that decision, shouting: "Ramadier must go! Long live workers' unity!" The dissolution order followed. Thus another issue has arisen to plague the party convention in August.

The Socialist crisis which began soon after the Russian Revolution and dragged on through the inter-war years until the authority of the Second International was largely dissipated has been accentuated by the conflicts growing out of World War II. To the old subjects of controversy have been added new ones. There is, for instance, the dispute about the real substance of democracy. Here in America an oversimplified attitude dismisses as purely Communist any doubt about the effectiveness of pre-war types of democracy. In Europe some of the most learned and liberal Socialists are engaged in a continuing debate on the question of the various representative forms of government. There are some who even maintain that "direct democracy" as practiced by the Commune and the insurrectional sections of Paris seventy-six years ago was a more genuine expression of the will of the people than the parliamentary system. Socialists are also divided on wage and financial policy. Another controversial point is how to handle the new fascism, which, encouraged by Allied support of reactionary regimes on the Continent, is growing increasingly insolent and aggressive.

It is to be hoped that somehow the Socialist parties will succeed in overcoming their present difficulties. Europe needs them. There is a great mass of Socialist opinion, traditionally educated in freedom and radicalism, which does not fit in any other party. Its loss as an effective political force would be a great one, even for the Communists, although they often prefer to ignore this and do everything in their power to weaken the Socialist position. Only the reaction would benefit by their success.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



# EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

## Shifting the Tax Burden

THE tax bill which President Truman has successfully vetoed was planned by its Republican authors as a mere appetizer, something to keep the G. O. P. angels in a good humor until the main dish was served next year in time to stimulate campaign subscriptions. Several weeks ago the cooks began their preparations when Representative Knutson's Ways and Means Committee opened hearings on revision of the Internal Revenue Code. At the same time the committee summoned to its aid an allegedly bi-partisan group of advisers, heavily weighted with conservative business men, under the chairmanship of Roswell Magill, Columbia law professor and former Assistant Secretary of the Treasury.

Despite this paraphernalia of careful inquiry there is some reason to suppose that leading Republicans on the committee have already made up their minds about the broad changes to be made in the tax system. In its Tax Report on June 11 the *Wall Street Journal* gave an interesting preview of fiscal events to come. The Republicans, it said, would not succeed in trimming federal expenditure this year to less than $34 billion, and further economies in the 1949 budget, which will precede the Presidential election, are not likely to be impressive, since "Republican leaders are already passing the word that they will be more generous next year in appropriating funds for reclamation projects and other domestic programs." The *Wall Street Journal* goes on to explain that this means budgets well in excess of $30 billion at least until June 30, 1949, and only modest margins for tax reduction, apart from that provided in the vetoed bill. Consequently "the emphasis in Congress is shifting from tax relief to tax-law revision, meaning redistribution of the tax burden."

The probable nature of that redistribution is indicated by the choice of Professor Magill to head the advisory committee, for he is well known as an advocate of excises and other indirect taxes. In the *Tax Review* of March, 1947, he set forth at some length his ideas on what to do about taxes. His major premise was that "since we believe in free enterprise, we must do all we can to make it work." What makes it work? "Essentially the driving force . . . of business management," answers the Professor, whose minor premise, therefore, is "that the tax system should be so drawn as to encourage and develop the incentives of American business men to produce and work." What will do this? More "take-home pay" for executives and investors. So, Professor Magill concludes, the first step in a sound tax program would be a sharp downward revision of surtax rates with a ceiling of 50 per cent on any income. A second necessary step, in order to encourage investment, would be the elimination of the present double taxation of that part of a corporation's income which is distributed in dividends.

Professor Magill believes that the budget can be trimmed farther than it has been but concedes that it will remain much higher than before the war. Hence there is need to compensate for the loss of revenue which his tax reforms produce. Formerly, he points out, the government drew most of its revenues from indirect taxes, but in recent years it has relied increasingly on income taxes. We should now, he considers, reverse this trend and "make use of the excises to meet a substantial share of the tremendous expenses we face."

The idea, in short, is to shift the tax burden from investment to consumption, from the high to the middle and low brackets, which will no doubt be consoled to know that in theory taxes on consumption make for more stable revenue. Supposedly, when national income nose-dives, the yield from income taxes drops much more steeply than that from excises and sales taxes. As Professor Magill explains: "People smoke and buy liquor and go to the movies in bad times as well as in good." Perhaps, but most people indulge in such luxuries very much less in bad times. And they certainly buy fewer automobiles, tires, radios, refrigerators, sporting goods, transport, and telephone calls—some of the goods and services on which excises are now levied.

Personally I am very skeptical about the theory that excise taxes would prove a stable source of revenue in the event of a sharp fall in national income. Our present system of excises has never been tested by a depression, and although it covers many things which are hardly luxuries, it also covers few that are absolute necessities. That is to say, it is based on articles for which the demand is fairly flexible. To make the system proof against depression it would be necessary to include within it the real essentials of life—basic food and clothing. A good stiff sales tax on bread, for instance, would be a very steady source of revenue under all conditions. It might even yield more in bad times, for then people eat more bread and less of the quality foods. A tax on milk would also help to fatten the Treasury. Alas for the tax reformers! The exclusion of staple food and clothing is, as the *Wall Street Journal* regretfully admits, "politically necessary."

It seems to me, therefore, that before the Republicans get very far with their current investigation they are going to find themselves in a three-pronged dilemma. If they want to use sales taxes as stabilizers of revenue, they must commit political suicide by levying them on basic necessities. If, on the other hand, they decide to cross the depression bridge when they come to it and concentrate on increasing excise revenue now so as to compensate for income-tax reductions, they will have to tax all currently untaxed articles, except food and clothing, very substantially in order to raise a billion or two extra. It is doubtful, in fact, if the 7½ to 10 per cent manufacturers' excise tax which Representative Gearhart of California is toying with would prove sufficient.

It would be high enough, however, to be very unpopular at a time when everyone is kicking at the price level, and might well cause a substantial shrinkage in demand. In that case the shifting of the tax burden from investment to consumption would result in conditions very discouraging to investment. Sometimes our tax "reformers" forget that an even more important incentive to producers than low taxes is an effective demand for the product.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# BOOKS *and the* ARTS

## AMERICAN AUTHORS' AUTHORITY—ROUND II

BY ANTHONY BOWER

THE plan for the establishment of an American Authors' Authority, brain-child of James M. Cain and the Screen Writers' Guild of Hollywood, which seemed to have been smothered by controversy a few months after its inception last July, has recently been revived. The Screen Writers' Guild has published a special supplement to the March number of its official magazine setting forth some of the arguments for and against the proposal to set up a central authority of which the four guilds of the Authors' League of America—the Screen Writers', the Dramatists', the Radio Writers', and the Authors'—would be member organizations, and to which authors would assign their copyrights with a view to facilitating bargaining for fairer practice in author-employer relations. The supplement contains a breezy foreword by Mr. Cain describing the "Tough Mug" whom he designates to captain the team of "ringers in the backfield"—"drop-kicking, forward-passing, swivel-hipping guy at quarterback" and "fast ends"—which constitutes his prospective leadership of the A. A. A.; among other items are the proposed Articles of Incorporation and the By-Laws, couched in legal terms and claiming to incorporate "modifications of the original proposal."

That the revised plan contains any modifications of or improvements over the original plan is vigorously denied by the American Writers' Association, a body formed under the presidency of Rupert Hughes specifically to combat the A. A. A. plan at the time of its launching. The American Writers' Association asserted then, and still asserts, that the A. A. A. would set up a control over authors similar to that exercised by Petrillo over the musicians of this country, that it threatens the writer's freedom of expression, that the revised plan gives the proposed authority "the same absolute power over the work of writers that was so dangerous in the first plan," and that it completely ignores the profound difference between the problems confronting screen writers and the problems faced by free-lance writers, poets, novelists, and textbook authors.

That there is a profound difference between these two categories of writers is very true. The screen writer, employed on a salary basis by a movie company, lives the uncomfortable life of a wage-earning Schéhérazade; moreover, his work automatically and by established custom becomes the property of the company as he writes it. The free-lance author deals with his publisher on very different terms. The usual contract—for an author whose popularity is not absolutely established—would give him an advance of between $500 and $1,500 against royalties of 10 per cent on the first 2,500 copies of the book sold (based on the retail price), 12½ per cent on the next 2,500 copies, and 15 per cent thereafter. This is standard practice and, in general, is considered fair. Practice in regard to subsidiary rights is, however, by no means standardized and very often not considered fair; it is in this field that the A. A. A. declares that the free-lance author is insufficiently protected and would benefit by the establishment of a centralized authority. Subsidiary rights are book-club, reprint, first-serial, second-serial, movie, radio, dramatic, foreign (British), and translation (foreign non-British) rights. The publisher usually retains a 50 per cent share of the book-club, reprint, and second-serial rights, and an interest, subject to negotiation, in the foreign and, if possible, the film rights. The rest of the subsidiary rights customarily remain with the author, but the contract varies according to the ability of the author's agent, the popularity of the author, and the disposition of the publisher.

No one denies that the author is sometimes the victim of sharp practice, particularly in the matter of subsidiary rights; the present professional organizations—the four guilds, the Authors' League, the American Pen Women, the A. W. A., and the prospective A. A. A.—are all in agreement on this point. But the A. A. A. contends that the present organizations have, in all the years of their existence, done too little to improve the situation in the matter of "the copyright laws, separation of rights, revision of tax laws, or protection of civil rights." The present copyright law is superannuated, dating from an era when movie and radio rights were undreamed of, and allowing an author no claim to his copyright until the publisher makes it for him—an act interpreted by some publishers as giving them a permanent interest in all rights stemming from the copyright. Conformity, and more liberality toward the author, in the matter of subsidiary rights is generally approved. The present tax laws are most certainly unfair to writers, and an author's civil rights, particularly in regard to prosecutions for indecency, are sometimes too feebly defended. All this is recognized more or less by both sides.

It is the method of approach which is the subject of contention. The established organizations and the A. W. A. want to leave things to time and to themselves. The A. A. A. wants to embark on an immediate crusade and to set about "belling cats," in the form of publishers, editors, and radio and movie companies, in short order. The means by which it proposes to do this are stated in two of the proposed Articles of Incorporation of the A. A. A. Paragraph 3 reads: "To hold in trust for the creators, the copyright, title, and all forms of interest and ownership in, literary properties of all kinds, and to assign, deal in, transfer, dispose of, license, lease, and grant interests and rights of all kinds in such properties." And Paragraph 4 reads: "To act as trustee, representative, or in any other capacity on behalf of creators of literary properties and owners of interests

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

therein, including, without limiting the generality of the foregoing, to take all lawful steps to preserve, enforce, and protect rights arising out of, or under, copyright, title, or other interests in literary contracts, give quittances and releases."

It is to these articles that the A. W. A. takes particular objection. It maintains that with the legal title to his work assigned to the A. A. A. the author would be completely at its mercy; it would be both a holding company and a closed shop, the owner of his property and the eventual dictator of his thoughts. Once the Authority had established its control over the literary market, which to be really effective it would have to do, it could easily dictate the moral and political content of the works it handles and successfully boycott any writer of whom it disapproved. By its very construction it could, and probably would, come under the control of a militant minority, and the freedom of the writer and his essential integrity as a creative being would be intolerably threatened.

Without doubt there are valid arguments on both sides. Publishing has become a vast commercial enterprise. Banks and stockholders demand a good return on their investments and dictate up to a point the policy of some houses, and the author is at times the victim of increasing commercialism. The Authors' League has been in existence for thirty-five years, and all abuses have not yet been righted. The A. A. A., if it were established, would undoubtedly start its career with vigor and redress some wrongs; later it might well become monopolistic and dictatorial. The remarkable part, however, of the whole controversy is the vituperative quality of the attack and counter-attack. The A. W. A. has said bluntly of the A. A. A., "It happens to be a notorious fact that those who hatched the plan and those most energetic in pushing it are of the pro-Communist persuasion." Mr. Cain is here excused ("It is only fair to say that Mr. Cain himself does not seem fully aware of the implications of the plan but to have been the carrier of other men's ideas"). Mr. Cain says of the opponents of his plan that though they might not compose "as one newspaper said, a fascist front, there was no getting away from it that some of its more vocal members had got themselves nice little

## Stalag Luft

In the yard, by the house of boxes,
I lay in the ditch with my bow;
And the train's long mourning whistle
Wailed from the valley below
Till the sound of my rabbit gnawing
Was the grasses' tickling shadow,
And I lay dazed in my halo
Of sunlight, a napping echo.

I saw through rainbow lashes
The barred and melting gaze
Of my far-raiding captors.
(The dappled mustangs graze
By the quills of the milky leggings.)
After some feverish days
They smile, and the numbing laces
Are cut from my wrists with praise.

When I woke the rabbit was gnawing
His great, slow, ragged bites
From the wood of the wired-in hutches,
And dusk had grayed the white
Leghorns hunched on the roosts of their run.
The train mourned below
For the captives—a thinning echo. . . .
It all comes back to me now.

RANDALL JARRELL

*A provocative discussion of*
**WHAT YOUNG PEOPLE OUGHT TO LEARN**

**Plato and Shakespeare, or manual training and business methods? The battle raging on the subject of curriculum is here joined by two witty and uninhibited men. They arrive at a unified, humanistic curriculum aimed to unbind Smith (the average college freshman) from the shackles of mal-education. Whether you agree with them or not, you will never again be complacent on the subject of education after reading their stimulating argument.**

*$2.50 at all bookstores* MACMILLAN

**By ERNEST N. DILWORTH and WALTER LEUBA**

SMITH UNBOUND

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

reputations over a period of some years as militant reactionaries, meaning stooges for corporate interests."

Among the calmer voices Louis Bromfield has said, in a letter published in the March Supplement of the *Screen Writers' Guild Magazine*, that he objects to the A. A. A. plan because he dislikes the idea of surrender of copyright by the author and because of the inherent possibility of boycott and control by the A. A. A., and Taylor Caldwell, in an interview in which she makes the rather surprising statement that "of course writers who are not best-sellers have nothing to worry about, so they can despise any sort of union of authors," comes out in full support of the Authority.

When even the ideological lines are none too clearly drawn—what with Upton Close and Dorothy Thompson in opposition to the plan and Taylor Caldwell, poor deluded Mr. Cain, and the crypto-commies in favor—how is the outsider to choose sides? To climb on the fence requires more effort than resting *in statu quo*, and for the line of least resistance there seems to be a valid argument. The present airing of grievances may provoke movie and radio companies and publishers to a general adoption of practices more favorable to authors; moreover, most authors are in the capable business hands of agents, and the victims among them are comparatively few. The A. W. A. seems to have proved that there is at least a slight danger that a central authority such as the A. A. A. might establish a monopolistic control over the output of authors, and though writers have survived through the ages the most drastic threats to their freedom, and though as Henry James remarked there is always "the periodical prattle about the future of fiction," still there is no point in self-inflicted coercion.


GIFT FOOD PARCELS
FOR OVERSEAS

*Relax on Your Vacation—*
**We will take complete charge of making up and shipping your parcels!**

| No. 70A—$4.95 | No. 74—$7.10 |
|---|---|
| 7 oz. vegetable fat | 1 lb. butter |
| 12 oz. Spam | 1 jar Nescafe |
| 1 can Instant Coffee | 1 lb. dehyd. potatoes |
| ½ lb. milk powder | 1 lb. pumpernickel |
| 1 lb. jam | 1 lb. corned beef |
| 1 lb. Farina | ½ lb. milk powder |
| ½ lb. chocolates | 1 lb. rice |
| 2 candles | ½ lb. chocolate |

*Including postage, packing, insurance post office receipt on request*

**Ask for further information on individual parcels**

**NOW—22 lbs. to England and Germany**

**J. KOHLS**
**PERSONAL PARCEL SERVICE**
315 WEST 102nd ST. NEW YORK 25, N. Y.
Academy 2-3844


# NOTES BY THE WAY

By MARGARET MARSHALL

SOME WEEKS AGO I reviewed "The Girl and the Ferryman" by Ernst Wiechert, an anti-Nazi German writer who stayed in the Third Reich and yet managed to survive honorably. The book seemed to me to be permeated by the elements we have come to think of as Germanic in the bad sense—crude mysticism of the earth-and-birth variety and an utter humorlessness—which bothered me until I found that it was an old novel published in 1932.

Now Greenberg: Publisher has brought out "Forest of the Dead" ($2.50), a new book by Wiechert, in which he gives an account, in the third person, of his quarrel with the Nazis and his sojourn in Buchenwald.

The name Wiechert assigns to his principal character is Johannes. The hero of Johannes was, and apparently still is, Martin Niemöller. When the pastor was taken, Johannes's dreams were haunted, and it was his obsession with Niemöller's fate that led him finally to write a letter to the branch office of the Nazi Party in his district, a letter in which he quoted the Führer of the Reich, no less, who had "dared to say: 'Justice must be justice, even for Germans.' " Johannes knew what must happen as a result of his act but was easier in his mind for having taken his stand. He quietly went about preparing for the ordeal, disturbed only by fears for his family and doubts of his capacity to resist his torturers. Soon afterward he started on his journey through hell.

After some preliminary stages he reached the Forest of Beeches. Buchenwald then was filled not with "foreign slaves" but with Germans who were opposed to the regime and whose fate was so persistently ignored by the world at large. Mass extermination had not yet begun, but cruelty in all its forms, both crude and subtle, held holiday in the dismal place—leaving its marks not only on the beaten bodies of the victims but even more vividly on the faces and bearing of the persecutors.

Johannes was maltreated less than many others, but his imagination and his sympathy for his fellow-prisoners caused him to suffer even the kicks and blows and indignities which he himself, by chance, did not incur.

> That morning Johannes stepped out of the barracks to see the elegant physician busy throwing rocks in order to disperse the patients that had gathered. . . . When the yard was empty, he brushed off his gloves and said, "Cowardly mob!" and went back into the barracks. When he had disappeared inside, those who had fled came from behind the trees and took up their old places.

A stone in the back of the head could ' fatal, and Johannes was present on one occasion when an old man was struck down and killed in this way. And there were other, equally haphazard ways. Death was truly a casualty in Buchenwald.

After several months Johannes's release came, unexpectedly and suddenly. "Everybody came and wished him luck. His heart was heavy as he looked into their silent eyes. No farewell anywhere hurts more than that from a concentration camp." And Johannes departed, but he carried with him a heavy burden.

> The wounds Johannes bore were not merely his own, not only those of the thousands whom he would leave behind, nor even were they only those of his own people. All of humanity had been shamed here, and who could say that this was possible only with his own nation and the other "dictatorships"? Time had dug deep into the ground beneath the nations, and from the depths stinking springs had gushed forth. But no one knew how far they branched below the earth and what would be the fate of other people if their soil were drilled.

Wiechert tells his story in muted and rather pious terms—he is a devoutly religious man—but it is none the less impressive. One may feel that Johan-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nes's admiration for Niemöller was misplaced and find his simple religious approach a bit archaic. But one can only have profound respect for his purity and integrity, his modesty and his courage. And in an age when that minute particular, the human individual, has all but disappeared from the calculations of those who rule and misrule the world, and always in his name, Wiechert's abiding respect for "God's image" is salutary.

I RECENTLY SPENT a week-end in Vermont, where the spirit of Coolidge still broods over what is surely one of the most beautiful of landscapes. Walking about the courthouse lawn in a little town I remarked upon the fine view to a man who was cutting the grass. "Yes," he replied, and it might have been Cal himself rejecting my fancy language, "you can see off quite a piece."

## Metaphysical or So

*THE WELL-WROUGHT URN.* By Cleanth Brooks. Reynal and Hitchcock. $3.50.

MR. BROOKS'S new book on the well-made poem — his pleasant title is from Donne, naturally, but refers also to urns in Shakespeare, Gray, and Keats—comments at length on ten well-known English poems in terms of their structure, the key word being "paradox"; an eleventh chapter essays a theory of poetry; in appendices the author argues with other critics, and reprints the poems, except "Macbeth" and "The Rape of the Lock." He is reliably acute on Donne's "The Canonization," Herrick's "Corinna's going a-maying"; interesting in developments of Miss Spurgeon's discovery of the obsessive clothes imagery in "Macbeth"; very good on the light-dark symbolism in "L'Allegro—Il Penseroso," and on Yeats's "Among School Children," though "Her present image" unquestionably refers to an aged woman (the error produces a whole system of misunderstanding), and to dismiss the poet's doctrine of prenatal recollection as merely "fantastic" is fantastic. The same dismissal in part accounts for an unacceptable reading of Wordsworth's Ode, but other critical defects are responsible as well: a disbelief in the literal, and oversubtlety. For this last


# Practical Psychiatry

(Between Mental Health and Mental Disease)

**BY DR. B. LIBER**

*Adj. Professor of Psychiatry, Director of a Mental Hygiene Clinic*

PRACTICAL PSYCHIATRY is a book on mental hygiene dealing with EVERYDAY difficulties of the average person rather than with rare or very abnormal cases. It deals with conditions which occur in all classes of society, among all sorts of people. *There is hardly a family completely free from some mental trouble.*

As a guide to mental health and psychic happiness, it helps the individual to solve his own and his family's problems and to adjust himself and others to surrounding circumstances and to society as a whole. In the first place it teaches where the trouble lies. It traces the growth of the mind from *childhood* through *adolescence to maturity* and discusses the question of SEX and MARRIAGE frankly.

With a minimum of theory and technical terminology and about 250 case histories as illustrations, all taken from the author's wide experience, this volume offers a *practical* and sensible approach to the *almost normal* and *slightly abnormal* or mildly unadjusted person seeking to correct the mental entanglements that confront him in this complex world.

PRACTICAL PSYCHIATRY is the *pioneer* book on the incipient or light mental cases or the *transition cases between mental health and mental disease.*

It is written for doctors and for *intelligent laymen.* Anyone who can read any book can read it with much profit.

**It is recommended by reviewers and great authorities**

*New York World-Telegram:* "A well-known physician tells how some of our most alarming anxieties and difficulties yield to mental hygiene."—*The Philadelphia Inquirer:* "Dr. Liber has performed a valuable service in giving the layman a means of intelligent understanding of mental health without tiring, scaring or boring the reader." — *Medical Times:* "The practical aspects are emphasized without delving into the controversial theoretical considerations or technical terminology. It is *one of the best* books the reviewer has seen for the intelligent layman in which *common sense* psychiatry is kept to the front."—*Dr. Adolf Meyer,* Dean of American psychiatrists says: "I like your direct common sense which gives valuable data to the reader."—*Upton Sinclair:* Out of your long experience you have offered your readers a great deal of common sense and advice." — *The Atlanta Journal, N. Y. State Journal of Medicine, N. Y. Medical Week, The Daily Worker* have also praised this book.—Etc., etc.

**From the Newest Reviews:**

*The Deseret News, Salt Lake City* (June 12, 1947): "This book is intended for the laiety and, while avoiding technical discourse as much as a doctor can, it gives *fascinating* descriptions of the symptoms of oncoming troubles with analysis of results, prevention and treatment. And it provides the information in a lucid and authoritative manner." — Frank Winn. (This reviewer calls some of the stories "literature worthy of the *classics*" and about other parts he says, "they could be easily seized upon by some *movie* magnate desirous of making an authentic picture.")

*The Sunday Mirror* (New York, June 8, 1947: "When an expert like Dr. Liber writes a popularly slanted book 'Popular Psychiatry' and writes it so that the average paper-cover bookman can get plenty of help from it in matters sexual and mental, we give pause and thanks."—Charles A. Wagner.

**From the Table of Contents:**

What Is the Mind?—Mental Adjustment—*Conflicts—Causes of Mental Diseases*—Personality—Bad Habits—Industrial Intoxications—Normal and Abnormal—Incipient Psychoses—*Child Upbringing*—Feeblemindedness—Child Delinquency—Masturbation—Impotence—Homosexualism—Incest—Marital *Troubles*—psychosomatic Life or *Body and Mind*—Public Enemies or Who Is Who in Driving?—*Mental Depression—Neurosis—Psychoneurosis* — Hysteria — Schizophrenia or Splitmindedness — Dementia Praecox — *Alcohol and the Mind—Fear* and Suggestion—Paranoia—Hitler's Mind and Similar Minds—The Mental Health of the Soldier and of the *War Veteran:* Induction, Rehabilitation, Patriotism and Pseudo-Patriotism, Back to Civilian Life, Population and War — *Poverty* — *Work and Mind* — *Mental Health, Prevention* and Treatment of Mental Disease—Glossary and generous Index.

**The book contains 432 pages, is beautifully printed and elegantly bound in cloth. Price $3.50.**

***Ask for it in bookstores or order direct from***

**Distributor: HARTSDALE HOUSE**

**220 WEST 42 STREET NEW YORK 18, N. Y.**


LIBRARY EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mr. Brooks apologizes so often that it seems unamiable to charge him with it, but there it is, and it corrupts also the accounts of the "Ode on a Grecian Urn" and "Tears, Idle Tears." But here one feels perhaps some failure of taste, as with eighteenth-century poetry. He does not recognize the Housman-like passion flickering in the opening stanzas and steady in the final stanzas of Gray's "Elegy" (for West's death, when he first began the poem, as well as for himself, the "Elegy" wants comparing with "Lycidas"); and his study of Pope is not likely to satisfy anyone familiar with the magical variety of Belinda's great poem—for instance, of the couplets where the rape occurs:

> The Peer now spreads the glitt'ring *Forfex* wide,
> T'inclose the Lock; now joins it, to divide. . . .
> The meeting Points the sacred Hair dissever
> From the fair Head, for ever and for ever!

The book contains admirable remarks and much truth, besides having the merit of directing attention to such poems. Taking a low view of its reader, however, it is perhaps good teaching rather than criticism; and its prose is troubling. Three points related to the analyses have general interest for even a brief review. Of Macbeth's speech about the grooms' daggers "unmannerly *breech'd* with gore," he stops a disparaging quotation from Abbott (p. 29) just short of the sentence in which Abbott, following Warburton and Johnson, explains what Mr. Brooks ignores, that "language so forced is only appropriate in the mouth of a conscious murderer dissembling guilt." Tennyson's ships in "Break, Break, Break" can seem "idle and finally irrelevant" only if in connection with the "vanished hand" of the next line their *stateliness* on their way "To their haven under the hill" has failed to produce in the critic the image of a funeral procession it recalled in the poet. And more talk about Keats's insistence on "Beauty is truth, truth beauty" was made unnecessary some ten years ago by H. St. Quentin's realization that "Ye" means not everybody-in-time-to-come but *the figures on the urn* (whose experience now *is* limited to the Beautiful as there depicted—whence "tease *us* out of *thought*," the line always ignored above); the aphorism alone should be in quotation marks as in Forman and De Sélincourt, though regrettably not in Garrod's recent edition. Critics from Eliot on have wasted time largely over this.

Either I imperfectly understand Mr. Brooks's theory of poetry ("a structure of meanings, evaluations, and interpretations; and the principle of unity which informs it seems to be one of balancing and harmonizing connotations, attitudes, and meanings") or there is nothing very new about it. A poem, I take it, cannot contain one thing only: out of several things it makes its single effect. Some of these, we learn, are *different* from others. In the laboring of this, "paradox" behaves like an acrobat. I share Mr. Brooks's interest in the history of English poetry and his resistance to the critical relativists, but to pinch the diversity of observable phenomena into a single set of terms or insist on anything resembling a unanimity of style seems to me to be indiscreet, or worse. Worse, because it will blind you. Every man is entitled to insensitivities; but when, in one of his rare forays into the judicial, the critic writes of "More happy love! more happy, happy love!" "I am not sure that this stanza can altogether be defended. . . . There is a tendency to linger over the scene sentimentally: the repetition of the word happy is perhaps symptomatic of what is occurring," one wonders what he thinks of another line hitherto much and miserably admired: "Never, never, never, never, never." He writes, in fact, "The method of art can, I believe, never be direct—is always indirect." I wonder.

JOHN BERRYMAN

## Understanding Russia

*A HISTORY OF RUSSIA.* By Sir Bernard Pares. Fifth Edition. Revised and Enlarged. Alfred A. Knopf. $5.

*RUSSIA IN PERSPECTIVE.* By George Soloveytchnik. W. W. Norton and Company. $3.

IF WE continue to misunderstand Russia it will not be the fault of the publishers. Here we have two additions to the spate of books designed to dispel our ignorance of that country by authors who may fairly be described as anti-Communist but pro-Russian. Both are historians, and both make the point that the policies of the Soviet government can be better explained by their examination in the light of Russian history and geography than by reference to the works of Marx and Lenin.

Sir Bernard Pares has given both heart and mind to Russia since he first went there in 1904. The period of revolution caused a painful separation, but once Stalin had consolidated his power and proved he was first and foremost a Russian patriot, reconciliation was achieved. Now Sir Bernard is probably as *persona grata* at the Kremlin as he once was at Tsarskoe Selo. Nevertheless, he is a candid friend who has plenty of harsh words for the purges and for the frequent brutalities of Soviet economic policy.

At the same time in an epilogue, which together with a chapter on "the second Fatherland War" forms the new material in this edition, he admits to "much general sympathy" with the broad aims of Soviet foreign policy. He regards it as unfortunate that "nearly all the sharpest debates in the U. N. are challenges to a Russian recovery of what she had before 1914 or to questions that are to be solved on her doorstep." That is to say, they are geographical rather than ideological challenges and appear to the Russians an effort to reimpose the *cordon sanitaire*. As such they will be strenuously resisted and, Sir Bernard suggests, could lead to a Russian-German combination that would be a deadly threat to the West. To avert that danger, he declares, we should try to understand the historical basis for Russia's policies and concede to it the equality of treatment to which it is entitled by its power and achievements. That done, the Soviet Union would be likely to concentrate on peaceful internal development and the ghost of world revolution would be laid.

The author of "Russia in Perspective" makes much the same point. Mr. Soloveytchnik, who fled from the red terror as a young man and is now a British subject, urges us to remember that "despite all possible relapses into Communist technique and phraseology, Russian history has resumed its course and that the world is once more dealing, not with a synthetic revolutionary body, but

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with the eternal Russia." To support this thesis he gives us an impressionistic sketch of Russian history which stresses the continuity between the old Russia and the new. Like the most modern school of Soviet historians he sees a clear line from Vladimir Monomakhus, Grand Prince of Kiev Russia, through Ivan the Terrible and Peter the Great, to Generalissimo Stalin.

All the same, fellow-travelers will not like this book, for although it reaches many of their conclusions, it uses facts and arguments that sentimental devotees of the U. S. S. R. will find highly embarrassing. Mr. Soloveytchnik sees the last thirty years in Russia, not as a glorious advance toward socialist democracy, but as a bloody retreat from a fantastic utopianism to a more or less normal system of autocracy. We need no longer fear "militant communism," he assures us: "There is a new Soviet aristocracy today, and it does not differ greatly from any other privileged class in its formative period."

While I believe this statement has a large element of truth, I do not find it particularly reassuring. Nor am I happy to be told that the Soviet state of today represents a synthesis of nationalist traditions and revolutionary impulses. That is a very explosive mixture, as Napoleon once proved.

KEITH HUTCHISON

## Memorandum

*REFUGEES IN AMERICA.* By Maurice R. Davie. Harper and Brothers. $4.50.

REPRESENTATIVE Frank W. Fellows of Maine is a man with a grievance. As chairman of the House subcommittee on immigration and naturalization, he told the New York *Times* recently, he has been receiving vast quantities of mail from all parts of the country urging favorable action on a bill to ease our immigration restrictions in favor of D. P.'s in Europe. Mr. Fellows described it as "tremendous pressure of the type I don't like." I wish he had gone on to specify what type of tremendous pressure he *did* like; nevertheless, because I had some experience during the war in handling government paper in Washington, I sympathize with the Representative from Maine and his hard-pressed staff, which is having to spend its time toting bags of telegrams and letters instead of thinking. It occurs to me, therefore, that it might be helpful if I cast my review of "Refugees in America," a report on the most authoritative and thorough investigation we have had on this subject, in the form of a memorandum which the subcommittee might use. I don't know whether Mr. Fellows likes this "type," either, but at least I'm sure that he and his fellow-committeemen have long ago grown accustomed to it:

SUBJECT: Book on Immigration

To: Representative Frank Fellows, Chairman, Immigration and Naturalization Subcommittee, Judiciary Committee, House of Representatives.

1. Attention is directed to the recent publication of "Refugees in America," a book of 453 pages (including an index and some pages of photographs, together with appendices), study of which, it is believed, may prove relevant to the work of the addressed subcommittee.

Publisher is Harper and Brothers, which careful investigation discloses to be an old-established firm in New York City, with no known Communist, leftist, or prematurely anti-fascist connections (though it appears to have foreign ties in the form of an office in London, England).

Book is the final report of the Committee for the Study of Recent Immigration, a private body sponsored by various social-service organizations: American Christian Committee for Refugees, American Friends' Service Committee, Catholic Committee for Refugees, United States Committee for European Children, National Refugee Service. Note should be taken of the fact that the organizations cited represent various religious denominations. It is feared, also, that they do not fall into the category of leftist or Communist organizations, though they are thought to have displayed evidences of excessive activity on behalf of anti-Hitler, anti-Franco, and anti-Mussolini refugees *before the United States entered the war.* Furthermore, Catholics are known to have *international* connections, whereas the Friends (also known as Quakers) are pacifists, and it is considered possible that the names of the organizations may hide Jewish participation.

Author of the book is Maurice R. Davie, director of the research staff of the aforementioned Committee for the Study of Recent Immigration, and chairman of the Department of Sociology of Yale University, an institution located at New Haven, Connecticut.

2. The Committee for the Study of Recent Immigration from Europe, the introduction to the book declares, was established to conduct inquiry into numbers of refugees admitted since 1933, their countries of origin, religious affiliations, professions or occupations, effects


**MANY THOUSANDS**
**of the regular editions of these books were sold at $1.75**
**NOW AVAILABLE—**
**For economical gifts to your friends who have not yet read these two great books—**
***The New Low-Priced Pocket Editions***

**H. G. Wells, CRUX ANSATA: An Indictment of the Roman Catholic Church.**

Pocket Edition . . . 50¢
Five copies for $2.00
Per Hundred, $30.00

**L. H. Lehmann, BEHIND THE DICTATORS: A Fully Documented Analysis of Vatican-Fascist Collaboration.**

Pocket Edition . . . 50¢
Five copies for $2.00
Per Hundred, $30.00

These New POCKET EDITIONS are complete in every respect and contain, word for word, the same text as in the higher-priced cloth-bound editions. The purpose behind these NEW POCKET EDITIONS, at these extraordinarily low prices, is to encourage OUR friends to distribute them to THEIR FRIENDS.

These books should be in the hands of every American. We at Agora have done our part toward making this possible. The next steps is YOURS.

**AGORA PUBLISHING CO.**
Dept. 651NA
**120 Liberty St., New York 6, N. Y.**

P. S.—The Regular Cloth-Bound Editions of both these books are still available for your library, at $1.75 each, or $3.00 for the two books. Combination prices do not apply to the POCKET EDITIONS.


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

on the United States socially and economically, assimilation of same into the American population, etc., etc. The committee states it believes "little reliable information is available on this subject, while rumors and misconceptions are widespread." Information was obtained through the use of questionnaires distributed by local community organizations, from personal interviews, and from refugee organizations. Method of presentation was discovered by undersigned to be factual and statistical, with quotations from statements by refugees documenting conclusions reached by the author. No overt editorializing or dependence on mass emotional appeal was found.

3. Book professes to show that many incorrect ideas are entertained by general American public on the subject of refugees. It is suggested that the most important of these may be that pertaining to jobs: book states that refugees have *not* taken away jobs from native-born Americans but that in many cases they have even established new industries providing employment for native-born whites. Book also argues that despite war-time shortage of physicians it was very difficult for qualified European physicians to practice as a result of what are termed "discriminatory" state laws and the attitude of medical associations.

4. Book quotes a number of refugees to the effect that they found disheartening amount of discrimination here against minorities, and it is stated that many non-Jewish refugees were surprised to find that as refugees they were popularly assumed to be Jewish, and hence refused admission, on occasion, to hotels, etc. (Some of the evidence in this connection comes from writers, painters, and the like, and can therefore, it is thought, be ignored.) Most refugees have nevertheless, according to book, managed to establish themselves socially and intend to stay in our country. It is significant that a large number have already become citizens.

5. It is earnestly recommended that the chairman authorize the purchase of a quantity of copies of book sufficient to permit distribution to all members of the subcommittee. The early chapters, summarizing conditions in Europe which led to the flight of the refugees, are alone believed worth the price ($4.50) as a handy reference to largely forgotten pre-war conditions; it is true that this aspect of the immigration question has thus far been avoided in the deliberations of the subcommittee, but it is known that certain organizations—most of them undoubtedly subversive, leftist, Communist, or humanitarian—hope to inject it into hearings on modification of restrictions on the entry of so-called displaced persons into the United States, as requested by the Executive.

6. It is further recommended that the staff of the subcommittee be instructed to begin work without delay on refutation of statements set forth in book, or to take steps to restrict circulation of same, since it appears to give substance to charges that the subcommittee is blameworthy in its refusal to revise quota restrictions on immigration in view of conditions in Europe, a continent which lies on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean.

W. J. GOLD

## Film Note

JEAN VIGO'S "Zero de Conduite" and "L'Atalante" are being shown for the first time in this country, at the Fifth Avenue Playhouse. Reviewing space is unavailable until next week. Meanwhile I urgently recommend both films, to readers who can get to them. Vigo was, in my opinion, one of the most gifted men who has ever made movies.

JAMES AGEE


STAGE PLAYS

"A very funny play, brilliantly written, acted and staged." —*Garland, Journal-Amer.*

MAX GORDON *presents*
BORN YESTERDAY
The Hilarious Comedy Hit by GARSON KANIN
LYCEUM THEA., 45th Street, East of B'way. CH 4-4256
Evenings 8:40 Matinees Wednesday & Saturday 2:40

RODGERS & HAMMERSTEIN *Present*
*In association with* JOSHUA LOGAN
"HILARITY IN PLENTY."—*Barnes, Her. Trib.*
JOHN LOVES MARY
*A New Comedy by* NORMAN KRASNA
*Directed by* MR LOGAN
MUSIC BOX, 45th Street, West of B'way
Air-Conditioned Matinees Wed. and Sat. 2:40

"A DELIGHTFUL COMEDY."—*Atkinson, Times*
HELEN HAYES in
HAPPY BIRTHDAY
*A New Comedy by* ANITA LOOS
*Directed by* JOSHUA LOGAN
BROADHURST, 44th St., West of B'way
Air-Conditioned Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:40

"A SMASH HIT."—*Life Magazine*
ETHEL MERMAN
In the Musical Smash
ANNIE GET YOUR GUN
*Music and lyrics by* IRVING BERLIN
*Book by* HERBERT & DOROTHY FIELDS
*with* RAY MIDDLETON *Directed by* Joshua Logan
IMPERIAL Thea., 45th St., West of B'way
Air-Conditioned Mats. Wed. & Sat 2:30 Sharp

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★
Give to help fight CANCER!
★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

MOTION PICTURES

MANHATTAN
ALHAMBRA
COLISEUM
81st ST.
86th ST.
59th ST. Bet. Lex. & 3rd
HAMILTON
125th ST.
REGENT
RIVERSIDE
23rd ST.

RKO NOW
"Engaging outdoor action."—N. Y. Times
Ronald REAGAN • Alexis SMITH
Zachary SCOTT
'STALLION ROAD'
From STEPHEN LONGSTREET Novel
—and—
"Merry little farce."—N. Y. World-Telegram
'LOVE & LEARN" Jack CARSON

BRONX
CASTLE HILL
CHESTER
FORDHAM
FRANKLIN
MARBLE HILL
PELHAM
ROYAL
WESTCHESTER
MT. VERNON
NEW ROCH.
WH. PLAINS
YONKERS

BROOKLYN
BUSHWICK
DYKER
GREENPOINT
KENMORE
MADISON
ORPHEUM
PROSPECT
REPUBLIC
TILYOU
Coney Island

"ARRESTING SCREEN FARE."—N. Y. Post
Laraine DAY • Robert MITCHUM
'The LOCKET'
—and—
'Trail Street' RANDOLPH SCOTT ANNE JEFFREYS
Based on WILLIAM CORCORAN Novel

QUEENS
MIDWAY Forest Hills Keith's
FLUSHING Keith's
RICH. HILL
STRAND Far Rockaway
MANHATTAN
COLONIAL B'way & 62 St.

*Memo to Nation Readers re: Advertising*

When ordering your theater tickets by mail, making reservations for your vacation, buying a book, etc., please tell them you saw it advertised in *The Nation.*


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Music

B. H. HAGGIN

A READER has written me a report on some of the addresses at the Harvard Symposium on Music Criticism of which no texts or summaries were issued. One is Professor Lang's, which confirms my surmise that he had had no idea of what Forster was talking about. "Lang began with the statement that music criticism is an art, not a science, and a critic must convey an illusion of the life in the music and the love he bears for it—an obvious bow to Forster. Then, in logical sequence, our critics were therefore bad because they were not musicians, they couldn't read score, they couldn't even play the piano, they didn't know the literature of music or about music: for instance a music critic in New York who spent most of his time railing at music scholars had only a few weeks earlier discovered the famous de la Laurencie, an important French music scholar whom everybody knows; and he hadn't discovered him by himself, but through a correspondent." And my reader comments: "Doubtless his inaccuracy about the whole musical scene is as scandalous as his misreading of your article."

The report is interesting in a number of ways. For one thing, it reveals how Lang's inaccuracy enables him to escape the impact of a demonstration that in answering a piece of writing by Ernest Newman he suppressed the essential part and misrepresented the rest—or that his article on nineteenth-century chamber music in a New Friends booklet was a schematization of imagined data. That may sound as though I consider all this inaccuracy conscious; but the report on his Harvard address convinces me that it isn't. The man who first elicits and then misreads those demonstrations is the man who—addressing an audience which includes one distinguished critic who is a composer and presumably able to read score as well as write it, and a number of undistinguished critics with professional musical education and the ability to read score and play the piano—nevertheless hurls forth his charges that the critics are bad because they are not musicians, can't read score, can't play the piano. He is, also, the man who takes off, in these charges, from a statement about the critic's function being to convey an illusion of the life in a piece of music. He is, in short, a man with a muddled mind. A man with a muddled, inaccurate mind whose job at a great university is to teach students in musico-historical research rigor and accuracy.

Two choral works commissioned for first performance at the Harvard Symposium were repeated in New York by Robert Shaw's Collegiate Chorale at its Carnegie Hall concert. They were Hindemith's "Apparebit Repentina Dies," a setting of a Latin hymn of the fourth to seventh centuries, and Copland's "In the Beginning," a setting of the verses of Genesis which tell the story of the creation. In the Hindemith work I found the recitative of the Judge and the judged expressively effective and moving; but the rest, for me, had no expressive power or interest to make its elaborately contrived ugliness worth listening to. As for the Copland work, I find the word "lovely" written in my program next to "And on the seventh day God ended His work" and "And God blessed the seventh day," but "nonsense for mezzo-soprano" written next to "These are the generations of the heavens"; and about the rest I recall the complete arbitrariness of the melody's progressions—the way it went now up now down with no discoverable reason either in any coherence of its own or in any relation to the words.

Giving both these works before Mozart's great Mass in C minor brought the length of the concert to almost two and a half hours—which meant that I was too tired to hear some of the music I cared most about. Beautiful performances, but poor program-making.

Columbia offers excerpts from Adam's music for the ballet "Giselle" performed adequately by Constant Lambert with the Covent Garden Opera Orchestra (Set X-277; $3). The recorded sound is heavy, and gets muddy and gritty near the ends of the sides. Also, excerpts from Menotti's music for the ballet "Sebastian" are well performed by Mitropoulos with the Robin Hood Dell Orchestra of Philadelphia (Set X-278; $3). The recorded sound is good, with the violins clear, though not lustrous. And on a single disc (71968-D; $1) are two inconsequential piano pieces, Beethoven's Polonaise Opus 89 and Mendelssohn's Scherzo a Capriccio in F sharp minor, well played by Kilenyi, with the recorded sound dull and wooden.


MONEY-SAVING MAGAZINE COMBINATIONS

The NATION

☐ *with* Harper's Magazine . . . $8.50 You Save $2.50

☐ *with* Consumers Union . . . $9.75 You Save $1.25

☐ *with* Harper's Magazine and Consumers Union . $12.25 You Save $3.75

All club combinations listed are for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses.

THE NATION *by itself:*

☐ 1 Year $6 ☐ 2 Years $10 ☐ 3 Years $14

☐ SERVICEMEN'S RATE $4 A YEAR

*Canadian and Foreign Postage $1 a year extra.*

THE NATION
20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

I want to subscribe to *The Nation*, or the following *Nation* magazine combinations as listed below:

_____

_____

☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.

NAME_____

STREET_____

CITY_____ ZONE_____ STATE_____

6-28-47


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# *Letters to the Editors*

## Just for the Record

*Dear Sirs:* Mr. Mezerik's article, Under the Sign of the Flying Red Horse (in *The Nation*, May 3), is a crackerjack. I am particularly impressed by the skill by which he was able to suggest the political atmosphere of present-day Texas without using any offensively direct characterizations.

The only inaccuracy I noticed occurs in the third paragraph on page 510, where he says, "The regents set up an inquisition. . . . The Regulars . . . obtained an investigation by the state senate . . . to whitewash. . . ."

As it happened, that committee had been set up for other purposes by the previous legislature, then adjourned. It was definitely sympathetic to Rainey. The lieutenant governor, John Lee Smith, a fascist out-and-out, did all he could to prevent the committee from acting, even to threatening its members with loss of committee appointments. But the committee appealed to the attorney general for clarification of jurisdiction, got a favorable decision, and proceeded. The Bullington testimony was not sought by the committee but forced on it by Bullington. Indeed, when Bullington had finished the long harangue on the subject of Rainey's alleged dereliction in the homosexual matter, Senator Wardlow Lane, who was doing the questioning, inquired sweetly, "Do you have any more dirt you would care to spread on the record, Mr. Bullington?" The whole committee record was so favorable to the Rainey cause that it was buried—has never been published or, so far as I know, transcribed from the stenotype script. This, of course, was the work not of the committee but of the lieutenant governor and the next legislature.

C. E. AYERS

Austin, Tex., June 18

## Lone Star Liberals

*Dear Sirs:* There are a few cheering exceptions to A. G. Mezerik's generally accurate characterization of Texas newspapers (in *The Nation*, May 3). A small but growing number of Texas people are being reached by honest, liberal weeklies. Several returned veterans have bought or started small-town weeklies which will immunize their readers against N. A. M. handouts. The unpretentious *State Observer*, founded in 1906, every week sends out a vigorous and accurate account of what goes on in the state capital.

The *Texas Spectator* is devastatingly and impudently critical of the boys that own Texas. A city editor and an expert reporter on a large Houston daily resigned good jobs to found it in October, 1945. While using up the stake of their original backer, they gained two thousand subscribers loyal and enthusiastic enough to raise more than $8,000 to see the paper through its second year. The fund came largely in small amounts from liberals who could hardly pay the $5 subscription price.

The Senate investigation of Rainey's dismissal was not obtained by the Regulars. Through their spokesman, Lieutenant Governor Smith, they did their utmost to prevent it. It followed Bullington's sensational press release about the homosexuals and gave Dr. Rainey his only opportunity to offer testimony from responsible officials praising his handling of the matter. In general, the testimony was so damaging to the regents' position that they prevented the publication of the record. At the next election they saw to it that Penrose Metcalfe, chairman of the committee, was ousted from the state senate.

It is not surprising that Mr. Mezerik's information about the investigation was inaccurate: the record is not available. Under the Sign of the Flying Red Horse is a brilliant account of what goes on in Texas.

JACK CARTER

Austin, June 15

## Beloved Gentleman

[*We have refrained from making any editorial changes in this letter lest we be accused of distorting the writer's meaning.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

*Dear Sirs:* In the edition of your weekly magazine, Vol. 164, Num. 19 of May 10, 1947, appeared an article entitled Election Day in Santo Domingo by Albert C. Hicks, who is the same bitter writer of the loathsome book "Blood in the Streets," which the American public rejected because of its untruthfulness.

Mr. Hicks has proved by his attitude to be an evil-disposed writer attacking offensively and systematically the Honorable President of the Dominican Republic, Generalissimo Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina, whether by books or articles in newspapers and magazines with insults and indignities, which only prove his ostensible irritation against him and when a man reach this ground is because undoubtedly he does not have nobler arms to use and necessarily has to receive the contempt of the rest of the public because he is judged as not having any of the qualities of a gentleman.

It is very easy to put in evidence this Mr. Hicks who boast so much infamy, paying a visit to my country, only a few hours from Florida by air. I extend a cordial invitation to any newspaperman who might be interested in knowing the exact truth, to visit the Dominican Republic, where a solid and lasting peace is enjoyed and where a progress, never dreamt of in its history, has been achieved. Generalissimo Trujillo was elected on May 16, 1947, President of the Dominican Republic, term 1947-1952, by an overwhelming majority never registered in any other election and is very beloved by his people that gratefully return in this way everything he has done for them.

The truth of all this can be easily verified, as I said before, paying a visit to my country, the Dominican Republic.

R. COMPRES PEREZ,
Consul General

New York, June 11

## The Whitewash Won't Stick

*Dear Sirs:* El Consulado General is understandably disturbed by my article which appeared in *The Nation's* May 19 issue. His is a difficult task, slapping whitewash on such a black background.

Señor Compres Perez says that Trujillo, in the alleged elections of May 16, won "by an overwhelming majority never registered in any other election." He knows better. Trujillo in previous elections won by a *unanimous* vote. Last May, with a shabby display of pseudo-democracy, Trujillo had 40,000 or so votes registered against him out of an announced total of more than 800,000 votes, or approximately half of the entire population.

I predicted in my article that after the elections, should the Dominicans be "encouraged to exhibit their distaste for the regime, the Benefactor would be prepared for any emergency." Today there has appeared in several New York newspapers, under a P. R. dateline, a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

news dispatch saying that numerous Dominican oppositionists have been thrown into prison. That cable, I presume, was sent by U. P.'s correspondent Milton Carr, whom I know to be a highly reputable newspaperman. Mr. Carr, Señor Compres Perez, was in your country very recently, albeit not as an official guest of your government. Your government, in fact, has attacked every independent newspaperman who has visited Santo Domingo.

Here is something that was not in the newspapers. Your government has placed in prison or in chains this past week from 100 to 150 Dominicans, smashed the press of the clandestine weekly published by the Juventud Democrática, and imprisoned its staff for its critical appraisals of Trujillo.

As for your attack upon me, I am both amused and curious. Where did you get the sales figures that would indicate that "Blood in the Streets" was rejected by the American public?

ALBERT C. HICKS

New York, June 19

## Recollections of Judge Tree

*Dear Sirs:* I am engaged in research into the life of the late Judge Lambert Tree of Chicago, who was prominent in public affairs in the 1880's and 1890's, and who served as United States Minister to Belgium and to Russia.

Anyone who has recollections of Judge Tree, and particularly anyone with letters from or pertaining to him, is urged to get in touch with the undersigned at 8800 South Wabash Avenue, Chicago 19, Illinois. Letters and other material will be carefully handled and promptly returned.

HARRY BARNARD

Chicago, June 21

## Wants Data on Debs

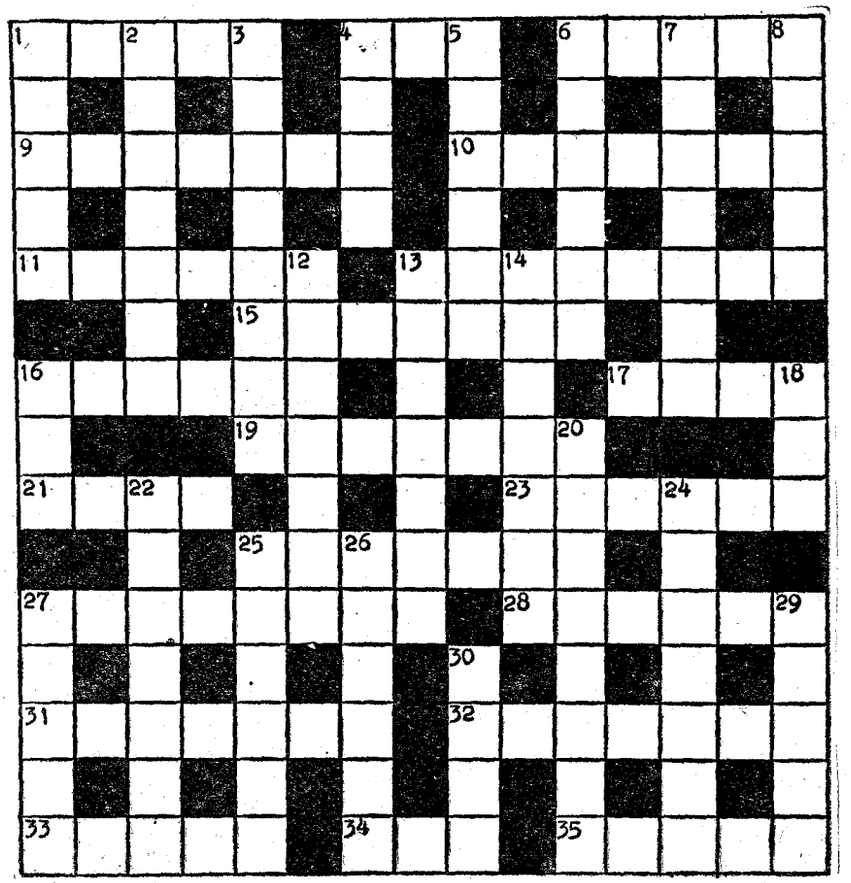
*Dear Sirs:* I am now revising my biography of Eugene V. Debs, which received a major award in the 1947 Hopwood Contest in Creative Writing, and would greatly appreciate any information about persons or libraries who might possess pertinent material —letters, diaries, printed material, or reminiscences. I will be touring the East in the autumn, and would like to interview any persons who knew Debs. My address is 604 Madison Court, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

RAYMOND S. GINGER

Ann Arbor, Mich., June 15

# Crossword Puzzle No. 217

By JACK BARRETT



### ACROSS

1 My hat! I am in a horse bus!
4 Father—and short, as usual!
6 Mined material
9 Led to us in disarray
10 Covered wagon
11 A Wren's reply
13 A bird having imbibed ginger-beer becomes a parrot
15 It is not unusual to turn brown on a mountain
16 Pictures seen in the pictures
17 Carl leaves town
19 Woman at the wheel
21 Is at the wine
23 Both clothes and their wearers need one occasionally
25 Carting? No, the operation before that
27 Artistic table attitudes presumably
28 Throws over
31 Former (3-4)
32 A French battleground and an English cathedral city are not closely connected
33 Not well-fed
34 Dr. Johnson never took one; it took him
35 The water's edge is partly composed of it

### DOWN

1 Whereby the Germans just failed to reach the "wise men" in 1918
2 What made the sub rise?
3 They produce solutions, but not to crossword puzzles
4 Doubly imperative to act, but nothing can save him now
5 "After death, the ------"
6 Put off the track
7 Natives noted for their blankets and silversmith work
8 You haven't had it until you've spent it
12 Scrapers
13 Baskets to catch our quibbles?
14 Spectacle presented by a boy with an insect
16 She will give you aid
18 Easier to say if we like this English fellow when he comes out of his shell
20 Fancy dress or nothing is put before us
22 "Was this the face that launched a thousand ships, And burned the ------- towers of Ilium?"
24 Detains (anag.)
25 Followed suit
26 Sea between Greece and Asia Minor
27 Scottish fillet, not of fish but of fishing
29 Fashion that is mostly an eyesore
30 Cut off to hold together

### SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 216

ACROSS:—1 GRAND SLAM; 6 LOCAL; 9 ALLOWED; 10 LAPWING; 11 PAN; 12 AMBUSH, 13 LASS; 15 SHEPHERD; 16 CINEMA; 18 CARMEN; 20 PIPE-LINE; 23 COOK; 24 RICHES; 25 APT; 28 OUTCROP; 29 CLARION; 30 HORSE; 31 DEPRESSED.

DOWN:—1 GRASP; 2 ALLONGE; 3 DOWN-AT-HEEL; 4 LADYBIRD; 5 MULISH; 6 LOPS; 7 CLIMATE; 8 LEGISLATE; 14 FIRE-ESCAPE; 15 SACKCLOTH; 17 NIGHTCAP; 19 ROOSTER; 21 ITALICS; 22 LIMPID; 26 TUNED; 27 FREE.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

## CHILDREN'S CAMPS

**WALTELL HOUSE** ON FRANKEL FARM
MT. BETHEL, PA.
VACATION FOR ALL THE FAMILY
Modern farm hotel combined with progressive children's camp. 75 miles from N. Y. All rooms with private bath. Meat, poultry, dairy products and vegetables from the farm.
Rates: — Adults $65 Week — Children $50 Week
N. Y.: Ella Frankel, 241 East 18 St. LE 2-5864

**FUR REMODELING**
*Superb Workmanship and Styling*
*Economically*
M. SCOTT FURS
236 West 30th Street New York 1, N. Y.
LOngacre 5-4917

**BOOKS TOO EXPENSIVE?**
Choose your own and save 25%. Order any book you want. Pay for it after you get it. Receive 25% credit on its price. Do this four times. Then use your credit for further books. Let us send you our detailed brochure or simply place your first order now.
BONUS BOOK CLUB, Dept. N-2
598 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y.

## OUT-OF-PRINT BOOKS

MILLIONS OF USED, RARE and out-of-print books stocked in 15 cities. Mention interests if catalogues are wanted. TAAB, 529 S. Melville St., Phila. 43.

## SITUATION WANTED (FEMALE)

COLLEGE JUNIOR, English major, experienced writing, publishing, desires summer position in editorial dept. of magazine or publishing house. Box 1722, c/o The Nation.

## LANGUAGES

LINGUAPHONE MAKES LANGUAGES EASY. At home learn to speak Spanish, French, German, Russian or any of 29 languages by quick, easy Linguaphone Conversational Method. You learn by listening. Save time, work, money. Available under GI Bill off Rights. Send for FREE book. Linguaphone Institute, 81 RCA Bldg., New York 20, N. Y.

## CIGARETTES

CIGARETTES—Popular brands; minimum 3 cartons. Price $1.45 per carton; postpaid. Send check or money order, ACE MAIL ORDER CO., East Orange 1, N. J.

## HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 5-0956. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons. By appointment, evenings. Marital, educational, vocation, psychological problems. Fee $3.00.

## CURRIES

HOW TO MAKE GOOD CURRIES: Your request with a 3¢ stamp will bring you our Recipe Booklet of precise Indian recipes for making curries of chicken, lamb, shrimp and vegetables. Learn the simple principles of using this condiment; it changes ordinary foods into new and delightful dishes.
JAVA-INDIA CONDIMENT CO.
IMPORTERS
442 Hudson Street New York 14, N. Y.

• To place an ad call BA 7-1066 •

## RESORTS

**The HEALTH REST**
Dr. Alice Chase • Spring Valley, N. Y.
Enjoy a health-building vacation at this *Vegetarian Resort* complete with sun-baths and exercises, special diets under professional supervision, cheerful, comfortable rooms, beautiful surroundings, stimulating activities. All this and more at moderate rates.
RESERVE NOW • Phone Nanuet 2316 or 967

**KAATERSKILL**
North Catskills • Green County • New York
*A Unique Venture in Hospitality*
More than a resort — its cultural and homelike charm is different. Small, informal, yet distinctive with high standards. 200-acre estate, 2200 ft. high. Swimming, varied athletic recreational facilities, international menus of superior quality. Reasonable rates.
Open Decoration Day thru September
Reduced Rates in June-September
The Home of MR. & MRS. KARL D. HESLEY
Jewett, New York • Telephone: Jewett 521
*Write for Brochure* • *Make Reservations Now*

***LOVERS of NATURE***
find charming surroundings and privacy on the
ROSE BROOK FARM
SPRUCETON, NEW YORK
200 scenic acres high up in the Catskills, good table, sports. Number of guests limited to 10. About $40. Phone BRyant 9-4687 for information and reservations.

**Pine Crest** in the Berkshires
WEST CORNWALL, CONN.
*on the beautiful Housatonic River*
A delightful Adult Resort
Main House and Deluxe Bungalows for 2. Boating, Swimming, fine Tennis, Bicycling, Music Recordings and dancing.
DIANA & ABE BERMAN
Phone—West Cornwall 89—12

*Reserve Now for July 4th Holiday!*
***Lakecrest***
On Hunn's Lake Stanfordville, N. Y.
90 miles from N. Y. Ideal location in the heart of DUTCHESS COUNTY. Excellent accommodations. Cordial hospitality. Recordings. Library. All seasonal sports. Via N. Y. C. R. R. to Amenia, N. Y. Open all year.
WRITE OR PHONE YOUR RESERVATIONS
EVA BERG, Director Stanfordville 2328

*From*
**WESTERN VIEW FARM**
high in the Connecticut Hills, you can return tanned, glowing and invigorated, and with happy memories of the warm hospitality of an Inn which is in its Twenty-eighth season under the same ownership-management.
Rates per person, $12.00 a day, $70.00 a week
Week-ends, Friday evening to Sunday evening, $24
TED OHMER
New Milford, Connecticut Tel.: New Milford 440

## FARMS AND ACREAGE

80 acres; good 7-room house newly decorated; springs; woods; small brook; view; elevation; RFD road; profusion of wild flowers; no improvements. $4,000. Terms. Berkshire Farm Agency, East Chatham, New York.

GOOD NEIGHBORS WANTED, choice acres are offered much below developers prices. Write Chester Rick, Peekskill, N. Y. Tel. 2515 M.

TACONIC PARKWAY: Putnam County. 7-room farm cottage; highly situated, beautiful view; accessible all year; electricity, well; one acre; 58 miles Columbus Circle. Immediate possession. $4900.00. Box 1723, c/o The Nation.

## RESORTS

***White Horse Lodge***
P. O. Box Westbrookville New York

71 Miles From New York City
Adult Resort Hotel • All sports
150 Foot Swimming Pool • Superb Cuisine
Excellent Accommodations including Private Baths
Rates $57 to $65 weekly. Booklet on request
SUGGEST EARLY RESERVATION
Phone Port Jervis 35-190
New York Office: BRyant 9-2468
DOROTHY & NAT LUKIN, Prop.

**OAKWOOD**
NEW WINDSOR, N. Y. Newburgh 4477
*Delightful* ... swimming and boating on ... our private lake
*Different* ... charming colonial atmosphere
*Delicious* ... our unexcelled cuisine
*Diverting* ... recordings for listening ... and dancing
53 miles from NYC—Adults Only

SAUGERTIES, NEW YORK
Tel. 590 J.
Real country, no other resort within miles. Pine woods. Interesting hiking. Attractive accommodations. Best of food. Tennis, swimming, bicycling, and other sports. Recordings. Dancing. Fair rates.

**MERRIEWOODE**
*A CAMP FOR ADULTS* *STODDARD, N. H.*
FOR YOUR ENJOYMENT
Beautiful Highland Lake, 10 miles long, with good fishing and free use of boats and canoes; interesting hiking objectives thru woodland trails; fine tennis and handball courts, badminton, shuffleboard, archery, riflery, croquet, ping pong, square dancing.
JULY & AUGUST Rates: $55, $60, $65
OLIVE H. G. BARON, Director

**BYRAM LODGE**
ARMONK, N. Y. Tel. Armonk Vill. 906
Only 35 miles from N. Y. C. in Westchester.
Completely remodeled, all conveniences, new furnishings. Beautyrest mattresses, all sports, bowling.
Rates $60 weekly; $10 daily. American Plan
American-Jewish Cuisine
N. Y. Office: 11 West 42nd Street PE 6-3243

*Enjoy a Wonderful Vacation at*
**COLD BROOK HOUSE**
*"On the banks of Esopus Creek"*
A small resort with friendly atmosphere in beautiful surroundings. Tennis and other sports. Adults.
*Rate $35 per week—Make Reservations Now!*
COLD BROOK HOUSE, Boiceville, N. Y. Shokan 2648
Tel. Sundays only bet. 9-12 a.m., MAnsfield 6-5065

**HUNNS LAKE HOUSE**
STANFORDVILLE NEW YORK
90 miles from N. Y. via N. Y. Central
Charming lake and countryside, rustic surroundings. Bathing, boating, fishing, other sports. Beautiful walks. Excellent American cuisine. Ideal for vacations and weekends.
Adults • Pre-season rate $45.00
RESERVE EARLY
GRETE POPPER Tel. Stanfordville 2931

**HATHAWAY LODGE**
OPEN ALL YEAR
Formerly the palatial 592-acre Macy estate in the beautiful "Hills of the Sky." Luxurious rooms, many with open fireplaces. Tennis courts, handball, badminton. Swimming pool, sun pavilion. Horseback riding. Golf course nearby. Delicious food. Easy transportation. American-Jewish cooking. Attractive Rates.
*For reservations or booklet write or call*
HATHAWAY LODGE, Haines Falls, N. Y.
Telephone: Tannersville 299

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED